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Santa Barbara

An Ethnographic Study of the Complexities of Designing and
Gaining Access to an Internship

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Education

by

Richard J. Bacon

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September 2018

The dissertation of Richard J. Bacon is approved.

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June 2018

An Ethnographic Study of the Complexities of Designing and Gaining
Access to an Internship

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by

Richard J. Bacon

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are shaped by our discourse and interactions with others and this study is evidence of that. As a consequence, I owe an immense debt to the many who have shaped me, in some cases unknowingly, and in doing so, helped me to reach this point. This is now my opportunity to recognize and express my gratitude to them, some of whom I regret are no longer here to hear me, but their words live on in what follows.

Undertaking this study while a full-time CEO of a company has required determination and commitment learned from my late father whose words: “If a job is worth doing, it is worth doing properly,” and my mother’s enduring encouragement: “You can only do your best,” have been with me throughout this enterprise and are hopefully reflected in it.

I would not have embarked on this challenge but for two groups of people. First, Daniel Snell and Emily Shenton of Arrival Education (Arrival) in London. Their unrelenting commitment to supporting young people from underserved communities by helping them learn to read their worlds and make informed decisions that can enable them to overcome their challenging personal circumstances and social equity barriers, that would otherwise limit their access to college and well-paid jobs, awakened my awareness of the role and responsibility that companies have in changing this paradigm. Having witnessed it firsthand, the transformative effect of Arrival’s *Success for Life* program for both young people and the employees of a company of which I was CEO, I turned to thinking about how that program could be expanded to serve many more.

My way of looking at Arrival's program was that of someone steeped in the world of business—here was a solution to a “need”—how to gain access to the fast-changing world of employment from which many young people are excluded. Naively, I believed that with the right business model and funding, this program could be expanded in the UK and beyond. My initial conversations with the second group, my advisor, Professor Judith Green, and her alumnus, Dr. Stephanie Couch of University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB), disabused me of that! They have been instrumental in shaping the way I now read what takes place in a place of learning, be it a classroom, a company meeting room or a conversation with my grandchildren. Through my dialogue with Professor Green and Dr. Couch, and others at UCSB, I came to see that I needed to develop a different way of seeing and thinking about how we all learn and change if I was to be a more effective leader and advocate of change that can benefit both underserved young people and those in the world of work. I, therefore, owe a large debt of gratitude to them and my committee, Professor Richard Duran and Assistant Professor Diana Ayra who, in our discourse, have indelibly shaped me and the way I now look at the world. Professor Green's indefatigable questioning of my ways of thinking and ways of writing, and Dr. Couch's constructive criticism of my perspective as an insider-outsider in this study, have brought me to this point and are evidence that the development of knowledge is a collaborative enterprise. However, I take full responsibility for the final product.

The commitment I have made to this study has come at a price to my family members on the other side of the Atlantic. In dedicating this to them, I hope that they consider the price was worth paying.

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ABSTRACT

An Ethnographic Study of the Complexities of Designing and Gaining Access to an Internship

by

Richard J. Bacon

Internships have been characterized as workplace-based learning opportunities (Stretch and Harp, 1991). As such, they have their roots in the medical and nursing professions where an internship is a formal step in achieving the professional accreditation needed to be hired in these particular occupations. In recent years, internships have become a far more widespread phenomenon to the extent that many employers expect graduate applicants to have held at least one internship, and often more, and are reported to use internships as a way of identifying future employees. The importance of the role of internships in serving to facilitate the transition of young people from educational institutions to places of work is evidenced by the offers from companies and recruitment companies on the Internet for internships in employment disciplines that include marketing, sales, retail, engineering, finance, human resources, and law.

Prior research on internships indicates that graduates who have an internship experience have a higher probability of securing employment at a higher salary than those who do not gain this experience. There are others who claim that internships, that are often low-paid or unpaid, are used by companies to displace full-time higher paid, salaried employees and to,

thereby, reduce their wage costs. In addition, U.S. survey data indicate that internships are used by companies as a tool to evaluate potential recruits for full-time roles. There are few empirical studies of what takes place within internships and the impact of the experience for the student, existing employees, and the company where the internship takes place. There is also a paucity of prior research on how companies go about designing internships and recruiting student participants.

This study makes visible, using an interactional ethnographic approach, how an internship was designed, for what purpose, and how an intern was identified and selected for that position through a process of recruitment. This empirical study was conducted by the CEO of ACME who led the efforts by the company to recruit an intern in which activity he played a central role. The CEO-researcher/researcher-CEO—stepping back from ethnocentrism (Heath & Street, 2008) and emic knowledge of the actions, activity, and events—assembled a corpus of data and re-entered the research archive to conduct an analysis of what transpired between the many actors, how, and in what ways the internship formed and developed, and with what outcomes. Findings from the study challenge prior research findings on recruitment processes, identify social equity factors that influence who has access to internship opportunities, and identify the roles of different actors and how they shaped who may have access to an internship and under what conditions. Finally, this study has demonstrated how the empirical analysis of business processes (e.g., the design of an internship and recruitment of an intern) that uses an interactional ethnographic approach (as opposed to an organization behavior approach) can uncover the consequences for individuals and companies of how and in what way, with whom, for what purpose, drawing on what resources they interact with each other in particular social contexts.

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Chapter I: Introduction and Focus of the Study

There is evidence from the National Association of Colleges and Employers that increasing numbers of young people are participating in at least one internship while in college in order to be attractive to potential employers (Gardner, 2011) and that employers will only employ graduates who participated in at least one internship and are using internships for a number of purposes, including as a means to identify future employees (Gardner, Chao and Hearst, 2009). Traditionally, internships have been associated with the field of medicine and are the training programs that culminate in formal certification required of medical students in order for them to graduate from being a medical student to a licensed physician (Wentz and Ford, 1984). In the nursing profession, internships provide training over a three-month period and are required of graduate nurses in order for them to qualify as staff nurses (Medical Dictionary, 2018).

Evidence from searches on the Internet for internships indicates that these extend beyond the traditional medical and nursing fields and that internships are being offered in a wide range of fields that include law, engineering, finance, marketing and retail, and fields of study related to these professions. The internships being offered may be for a few weeks or months and be paid or unpaid, and very few, if any, offer accreditation or certification. This prompts the question of what counts as an internship and who counts as an intern outside of the fields of medicine and nursing?

A Brief Review of Literature on Interns, Internships and Recruitment

The literature review in this section is divided into two parts. In the first section, I review prior research on internships, their outcomes and participation in these. In order to become an intern in a company, or for a company to find an intern, a process of recruitment takes place, and so in the second part of this literature review, I will discuss findings from prior research on the process of recruitment and its contribution to an understanding of intern recruitment. Following this review of prior research, I will set out the goals of this study, the social context in which it was conducted, who participated, and the corpus of records that were analyzed to address the questions to be addressed by this study.

Interns and Internships

Research on internships has generally been based on survey analysis of students' participation and company outcomes in terms of quantitative data about the use of interns and conversion rates of interns to full-time employees. Gaining clarity of what is meant by the terms "intern" and "internship" is not commonly part of such surveys and therefore is challenging. In general, definitions of the term "intern" have been provided by academic researchers and emphasize the learning experiences and outcomes for the intern of a workplace-based learning opportunity. By contrast, the term "internship" (as opposed to "intern") is widely used by recruitment companies advertising for interns and companies offering internships to define that role. Nike Inc.'s 2018 advertisement for a Finance Intern is an example of such an approach:

An under-graduate expecting to graduate by Winter or Spring, with emphasis in finance or accounting, having software proficiency. Strong knowledge of budgeting,

investment analysis, economic profit concepts and strategic planning concepts, financial modeling, scenario planning, and reporting, experience leading projects and/or people is a plus, excellent communication skills and experience with influencing. Has successfully navigated ambiguity, especially while working with a team.

Generally, as suggested by the Nike advertisement offering an internship, such organizations refer to the qualifications required for the position and a definition of the intern's role in terms of tasks to be undertaken during the internship. Offers of an internship by organizations rarely identify learning outcomes, choosing instead to use terms that describe what the intern is expected to contribute to the organization's performance. This has led Gardner (2013) to comment:

Most career practitioners have gained an understanding into the mechanics of internship programs from years of close relationships with organizations partnering with their institutions. Despite our familiarity with internship programs we actually do not know a great deal about them. (p. 1)

This point is reinforced by Perlin (2012):

whether you are an intern or an employer no one knows what they mean. Internships may be everywhere today, but they remain such a recent, chaotic phenomenon that there are seldom any rules of the road, any standards or codes of conduct that are honored - only vague expectations, for which no one is help accountable. (p. xi)

Perlin adds:

In the last few decades, internships have spread to virtually every industry, and almost every country, while internship related businesses and campus career offices proliferate Yet comparatively little that is solid, sober and actionable is known

about the internship explosion, how many there are, in what fields, and what social and economic consequences arise from what interns do. (pp. xii-xiii)

This state-of-affairs is primarily due to the fact that companies and learning institutions are under no obligation to report on learning outcomes associated with internships and there is no evidence that they do so. This lack of research on the outcomes of internships extends to their impact on companies and their employees.

To explore this further, I undertook a review of 10 studies (Aldas and others, 2010; Allen and Ainley, 2014; Crain, 2016; Gardiner and others, 2009; Gardiner, 2011; Gault, Redington and Schlager, 2000; Gault, Leach and Duey, 2010; Gavigan, 2010; Simons and others, 2012; Slack and Fede, 2017; Taylor, 1998) conducted between 1998 and 2017. These studies suggest that the intended purpose and publicly acknowledged benefits of an internship experience extend beyond the take-up of workplace-based knowledge and skills required for formal professional certifications in specific industries or occupations. These studies position internships as an important component of the transition of young people from formal education into the workplace because of the opportunities to acquire knowledge and competencies that are identified in the U.S. Department of Labor's Competency Pyramid (2018) as being common requirements of a wide range of industry sectors. Included in this pyramid are the following competencies: communication, personal initiative, analytical skills and teamwork (Slack and Fede, 2017). In this context, companies are viewed as a site of learning and development for the intern as they are for other employees (Casey, 1995) and their evolving role has been recognized by Porter (2014):

no longer are companies content to wait at the end of the education pipeline for graduates with the right skills. Instead, they are becoming part of the pipeline itself,

taking on themselves many of the roles historically reserved for education institutions. (p. 1)

Based on these arguments, employees within the company are understood to be engaged with students in the learning opportunity taking place within the corporate setting. The learner, therefore, is assumed to be educated by both the academic institution in which he or she is enrolled and by those with whom they interact in the workplace-based setting. Gardner, Chao and Hearst (2009) argue that the engagement of professionals in the workplace in these joint educational activities has, over time, resulted in the adoption of new corporate recruitment practices that include the identification of potential new employees, whom companies have come to know through the internship experience, to the point that internships have become an important source of recruits for companies. Additionally, Akst (2015) has argued that companies have been motivated to recruit interns because they are paid at below the rates for work that would otherwise be done by full-time employees.

Evidence of the growing links between internship opportunities in college and college students' transition into the workforce can be found in numerous studies. A NACE (2009) survey, for example, found that 76.3% of firms reported relevant work experience as the primary factor when making hiring decisions. Gardner (2011) has observed that participating in an internship or internships is a precondition for students to secure a high-level job. NACE's employment prospects survey for the class of 2009 found 14% of graduates without previous intern experiences had secured employment, compared with 23% of graduates who had participated in at least one internship when they compared outcomes for students during the same time periods. Gardner, Chao and Hearst (2009), in analyzing the results of the Michigan State University 2004-2005 hiring survey of 456 companies having a range of sizes and activities

drawn from across the US, observed that internship programs are one of the most effective ways for companies to identify and recruit future employees, and many will not recruit young people who do not have at least one, and sometimes more, internship experiences.

While the research presented above points to the importance of internships for both young people seeking to enter the workforce and companies seeking to identify and recruit new employees, there is also evidence that take-up of internship opportunities by college students is not universal. Gardner (2011) reported that the results of an online survey of 27,335 undergraduates at 234 colleges and universities throughout the US showed that an estimated 23% of students did not plan to participate in an internship while in college. A further 47% had plans to secure an internship, but had not done so (whether they secured an internship during a subsequent period is not known). Only 30% of students surveyed had participated or were participating in an internship.

This survey data indicates that a large percentage of students had not secured an internship and did not have plans to do so, despite the importance to the employer as well as the students of an internship experience in securing future employment. Study findings also imply, conversely, that a large number of companies did not have access to a pool of potential interns from which to identify future employees given students' unwillingness to voluntarily participate in an internship. The Gardner study did not reveal why the students had chosen not to search for an internship or had not secured one, or why students did not intend to do so. There also is a lack of research on the challenges faced by companies in crafting internship roles, identifying interns for these roles, recruiting them and managing them during their internships.

Recruitment

While recruiting in general has received the attention of researchers, the recruiting of interns specifically has received little attention beyond survey data such as that noted above. Based on the work of Rynes (1991), Barber (1998), and Taylor and Collins (2000), who have studied the recruitment activities of companies, recruitment can be defined as an *organizational* process comprising a series of sequential activities that involve searching, identifying, and attracting individuals to accept an offer to fill a vacancy and become an employee. Research into recruitment is a relatively young discipline and the preponderance of research has been mainly based on psychology and organizational studies and focused on the impact of recruitment on the individual (applicant responses, applicant source effects, and realism in recruitment discourse) rather than the organization (Barber, 1998, Taylor and Collins, 2000). Research on the impact on individuals has been largely founded on laboratory-based surveys of students' attitudes (Carson, Ross and Mecham III, 2013), and progressed from initially seeking to understand tactical outcomes of recruitment activities to focus more on providing insights into how different decisions in the organization may influence recruitment outcomes and to support organizations in becoming more effective in their recruitment activities.

This general recruitment research has been based on the perspective of organization behavior models which define recruitment as a linear series of pre-defined standard processes that produce a predictable outcome—recruitment of an individual. These outcomes have been measured using surveys of participants that were undertaken after the event and out of the context in which the recruitment activities took place. By contrast, there is a lack of research based on the observation and analysis of the interactions of participants as they

engaged in activities related to recruitment and the outcomes across time of these interactions. This observation is supported by Carlson, Ross, and Mecham III (2013) who, in recognizing that potential limitations of recruitment research based on attitude measures taken in a laboratory, called for “an increase in the number of studies that examine recruitment in real organizational settings [because] it is not clear to what extent recruitment research generalizes to decision making as it occurs in the context of real recruitment in organizations” (p. 205). Thus, organizational behavior models of recruitment do not capture the varied, multi-layered and complex nature of recruitment activities as described by Gumperz (1992):

In job selection, for example, replacing a practical demonstration of the applicant’s ability to do a particular job are elaborate procedures involving complex verbal tasks. From the filling out of application forms, the career counseling session, the job interview, and salary negotiation assumptions about how information is conveyed are critical and these are assumptions which vary widely even within the same socio-economic group in the same community ... Hence candidates who do well may or may not be as competent to do the job as the non-successful test taker. Finally, personnel, judgements and many other societal evaluations, are grounded in the individual’s ability to talk and make a good presentation of him/herself as well as the ability to pass tests. (p. 4)

Other researchers (Smith, 1987; Gaucher, Friesen and Kay, 2011; Leonhardt, 2011), have identified racial, class, and gender issues that shape recruitment practices and outcomes and suggest that recruitment is a complex activity. By positioning the researcher in the context in which these interactions take place, this study offers a different perspective from

that of organizational behavior researchers (Barber, 1998; Rynes, 1991; Taylor and Collins, 2000). It also offers a different perspective from that of ethnographers such as Gumperz (1992) and Jupp, Roberts and Cook-Gumperz (1982) who have focused on outcomes for the individual—the applicant or candidate—of the recruitment process and not on the employees of the company or the organization as a whole that are defining the role of an intern and undertaking the recruitment of an intern. Given the increasing prevalence of internships and their importance to both students and companies, the intentional or unintentional choices made by students, and the implications of such choices, raises important questions about who has access to internships, under what conditions that access is secured, how internships are designed, and for what purpose. The paucity of research on internships, despite the importance of internships for graduates and company performance, and the findings showing that many graduates do not participate in internships, indicates the need for a more in-depth examination of how internships form and develop, what supports and constrains opportunities for students' access to internship opportunities and companies' access to them, and the impact of internships on graduates, companies and their employees.

The absence of research to address these questions shaped both the focus of this study and how I approached it. Hence, this study seeks to develop informed answers to the overarching question of *what supported and constrained the recruitment of a graduate student for an internship?* In order to address this I identified the following research questions:

1. How and why did the internship form and develop across time and events, and how did the company recruit a college student for that position?

2. Who were the actors, what were their roles and with whom did they interact as they went about designing an internship, recruiting an intern or finding an internship opportunity?
3. How and in what ways did the actions of individuals shape the design of the opportunity and impact who had access to the opportunity?

Overview of Research Design

In the following section I provide the background to my choice of research site and a description of it, before proceeding to present my approach to this study which was shaped by the questions it seeks to answer.

Focus of the Study

In order to address the questions above, I sought a corporate site at which data would be available to inform understandings of the ongoing interactions among people engaged in both the design of the internship, and the processes involved in recruiting an intern. As part of the selection process of a research site, I also sought a corporate space where I would be able to trace the intern as they approached and entered this space, as well as explore the actions and responses of the professionals in the workspace. Additionally, I wanted access to the corporate leadership and other company employees who were central to the design of the process, negotiations with external contacts, and responsible for entering the intern into the collective learning space of the workplace.

The Setting of the Study

In order to achieve my goal of capturing the “*moment to moment*” interactions “*in the moment*” that they took place, or that took place virtually with contacts in external settings that included educational institutions, I decided to undertake this study in a corporation of which I was CEO. The corporation, which will be referred to in this study by the use of the pseudonym, ACME, was a fast-growing, privately funded, technology start-up, located in Northern California, that employed 15 people who were mainly engineers and scientists.

This decision enabled me to have access to a substantial corpus of data that is often not available to outsiders (e.g., employee email exchanges, internal design conversations among members of the organization). It also permitted the recording of the phone conversations, even when conducted outside ACME, as well as the face-to-face interactions “in the moment” between individuals that would be essential to tracing how the internship role was being defined. While not the original site I sought to examine, this site provided access in ways previously unexamined by research to date. This site also provided ongoing collection of headnotes and documents that are often overlooked or inaccessible for reasons of confidentiality (e.g., ACME board papers and Human Resource policies) when participants are interviewed, but as this study will show, were critical to exploring the complex process of designing, negotiating, selecting and entering an intern into an ongoing workplace. My goal, therefore, in using this site, was to be able to trace across an extended period of time (13 weeks) the patterns of interaction among different configurations of participants involved in both the recruitment process and in their own workplace activities during the phases of entry by the intern.

Negotiating access to the site and the records necessary for the study were facilitated by my role as both the CEO-researcher and researcher-CEO and the agreement of members of the staff. My role as the CEO-researcher/researcher-CEO not only facilitated my access to the site, but also allowed me to be present *during* nearly all of the formative activities leading up to the decision to recruit an intern, and allowed for my continuous presence through the period in which an intern was recruited. The dual role of CEO-researcher and researcher-CEO also offered the potential for creating a research archive and undertaking an analysis that would generate findings surrounding the *formation* of a workplace-based learning opportunity called an internship and the recruitment of an intern, both of which are not available through studies of workplace-based learning opportunities that are entered after the intern has been selected and the internship is already underway or has been completed (e.g., Lave and Wegner, 1991). Thus, by being present at these moments, I would be able to trace actions that supported and constrained individuals in *gaining* access to an internship and what shaped, supported and constrained the actions of those within organizations who wished to recruit an intern.

Study Participants and Their Affiliations

As noted above, I selected the company, ACME, where I was CEO and where I had complete and unfettered access to the records of the actions and discourse that took place, from the moment the purpose and need to recruit an intern was identified, until the appointment of an intern had occurred. Analysis of artifacts within the research archive enabled me to identify the participants in each of the three recruitment attempts and the 48 individuals who participated in this study, and individuals and institutions to whom they were primarily affiliated are identified in Table 1. 1.

Table 1.1

Participants in the Design of an Internship and Recruitment of an Intern

ACME	North Bay University	South Bay Company	South Bay University
CEO	Head of Department	Operations Manager	2 Alumni
Head of Product Development	Graduate Student	7 Potential Candidates	28 Applicants
Research Scientist			4 Faculty Members
HR Manager			

Thus, while the CEO and two of the 15 employees of ACME and the internship were located at ACME, the participants in this recruitment activity were located elsewhere and affiliated with other organizations that included North Bay University (NBU), South Bay University (SBU) and South Bay Company (SBC). Analysis of the records of discourse between the participants indicates that, on a number of occasions, this took place when they were not located physically in these places but elsewhere in the US and in Southern India. This makes visible the dependence of this study on having access to the records of email correspondence between participants as compared to in-person meetings between the participants of which only six could be identified from the records.

Timeline of the Study

The study covers a 13-week period during which ACME made three attempts to recruit an intern. The first two attempts were unsuccessful. This study examines each of these recruitment attempts and how the members of ACME, formulated and reformulated not only the description of the internship, but also with whom they engaged to identify appropriate recruits (or potential interns). For each recruitment attempt, I examine what was socially constructed by the actors by tracing the actions and discourse of those who participated in each recruitment attempt across times, contexts (institutional settings) and the interactional processes through which each was constructed.

This study also uncovers in the analysis of discourse and artifacts the histories of prior relationships between the participants before the design of an internship and search for an intern was initiated. In some instances, analysis of the data indicates that these relationships stretched back in time across several months. As this study will show, the tracing of these histories and prior intertextual ties was a critical element within my interactional ethnographic approach to analyzing and making visible what took place subsequently *within* the 13-week period during which ACME sought to recruit an intern, who participated in that activity, and how they came to be participate in it.

Overview of Methodology

In this section I will present my approach to this study in which I position myself as CEO-researcher/researcher-CEO. that enabled me to trace through empirical evidence the ways in which the individuals were brought into the activity, by whom and for what purpose.

Through this analysis, I was able to trace the interactions of individuals with others and the outcomes of the interactions across time, and uncover how and in what ways the actions of individuals shaped the design of the internship opportunity and impacted who had access to that opportunity.

In order to examine the interactions between those who participated in the design and recruitment of an intern, I adopted an ethnographic approach that permitted me to identify those who had participated in the activity, their roles and how these evolved across time, and how the roles, relationships, actions and discourse between actors shaped outcomes for the actors and for others. An essential component to this study is an examination of how the social context of the interactions between participants supported and constrained the activities of the participants across time and geographies. In this study of the activities involved in the recruitment of an intern the social context is not limited to a bounded physical space (i.e., ACME). The social context extends across time and multiple spaces by virtue of the medium of discourse between the participants that was based largely on electronic communications. The substantial archive of reconstructed emails and their attachments not only provides a comprehensive record of discourse between the participants, but also provides evidence of intertextuality that may be harder to discern in studies based on face-to-face dialogues with only selected recordings “in the moment.” The heavy reliance on data from electronic communications and threaded conversations that took place across time by actors who were not in face-to-face dialogue, raises questions of how the nature of this form of discourse may itself shape the outcomes of that discourse when compared with face-to-face dialogue.

The Design of an Internship and the Recruitment of an Intern as a Telling Case

This ethnographic study of the initiation and design of an internship, the recruitment of an intern, how, by whom, and for what purposes, is based on a systematic mapping and analysis of the interactions of individuals across time in order to uncover patterns of activity and the roles of the different participants. As such, this study represents a telling case (Mitchell, 1984) that was bounded by time and the actions and discourse of the participants. For this study, I adopted the position of CEO-as-researcher/researcher-as-CEO. This required that I step back from ethnocentrism and examine the reconstructed records of the actions and discourse from the perspective of an outsider for whom there are no “known knowns,” only “known unknowns” and “unknown unknowns.” The challenges faced by ethnographers who go into the field to study “what is happening here” (Agar, 2006; Ellen, 1984; Green, Skukauskaite and Baker, 2012; Rist, 1980; Spradley, 1980) have been well documented and argued not least because, inevitably, they enter a site with some “known knowns.” Avoiding the instinct to “prove” these prior beliefs and values (Rist, 1980; Heath and Street, 2008) was essential if I was to build a warrantable account (Walford, 2008) based on a systematic observing, recording and analyzing of what happens from an ethnographic perspective. In addition, my emic perspective was challenged by my advisor and a prior student of theirs to ensure I was not inscribing a historical narrative of events, but stepping back from ethnocentrism to apply the principles identified by Heath and Street (2008) that guide ethnographers as they seek to gain the insider’s (emic) perspective of what is happening:

- Suspending known categories to construct understandings of local and situated categories and referential meanings of actions being developed by participants;

- Acknowledging differences between what they as ethnographers know and what the actors in the context know;
- Constructing new ways of knowing that are grounded in local and situated ways of knowing, being and doing the processes and practices of everyday life within a social group or configuration of actors;
- Developing ways of representing what is known by the local actors and what the ethnographers learn from the analysis at different levels of analytic scale.

I sought to apply these principles with time enough for issues and problems to emerge that provide for the formulation of research questions, the specific activities to be observed and the framework within which the study is to be conducted (Rist, 1980).

In order to corroborate my observations, I sought wherever possible to triangulate between different forms of data that offered warrantable accounts. In addition, this telling case offered an opportunity to compare and contrast the actions and interactions between individuals during three different attempts by ACME to recruit an intern, two of which were unsuccessful. The ability to compare and contrast how the internship formed and developed and an intern was recruited, across the three attempts that were situated in the same company (ACME), for the same position (Analytical/Application Chemist), offered another way of triangulating the data and ensuring the ability to generate warranted accounts from the analysis. The triangulation of data across the three recruitment cycles required each attempt to be examined separately to reveal the complex patterns of interactions of which each was composed. This is (re)presented in Figure 1.1. In adopting this grounded approach, my analysis both informed the answers to my questions and raised new questions that required me to (re)enter the archives and (re)analyze the data there from new perspectives.

	March 2, 2015			
Prior Discourse and Actions	Pre-Recruitment Defining a Business Need and Solution; to Recruit an Intern			
		First Recruitment Attempt		
March 2, 2015		March 4, 2015	April 23, 2015	May 21, 2015
Prior Discourse and Actions	Design of Internship	Recruitment Initiated	Recruitment Resolved (Failed)	Identification of Potential Candidates Terminated
			Second Recruitment Attempt	
			April 23, 2015	April 27, 2015
Prior Discourse and Actions		Recruitment Initiated	(Re)design of Internship	Recruitment Resolved (Failed)
			Third Recruitment Attempt	
			April 24, 2015	May 24, 2015
Prior Discourse and Actions		(Re)Design of Internship	Recruitment Initiated	Recruitment Resolved (Successful)

Figure 1.1. *Timelines of Actions and Discourse Shaping the Recruitment of a Graduate Intern*

Overview of the Approach to the Study in Relationship to the Research Questions

In approaching this site for a study of how an internship was designed, for what purpose, and how an intern was recruited for that position, I initially identified an email archive at ACME. I extracted the names of all the individuals who had participated in this 13-week activity and developed a transcript from the emails within the archive I constructed for the purpose of this study. Initially, these emails were organized in chronological order, but when I observed that this broke chains of emails that represented a dialogue between participants, I reordered the email chains within the transcript to preserve their integrity and placed them in the archive in the chronological order in which the chain of emails was initiated. In addition to emails, I made use of calendar entries and documented headnotes for my recall of telephone conversations and decisions I had made as CEO for which I did not have contemporaneous notes. All of these records were incorporated into the research archive. The records enabled me to (re)create the actions and discourse within ACME that brought an internship into being and the actions taken to identify, attract and recruit an intern.

In examining the records, I uncovered a number of rich points (Agar, 1994) that arose when a participant acted in a way that was unexpected by others. From the rich points available to me, I chose the moment when the first recruitment attempt ended when a potential intern declined the offer of an internship. The potential intern cited two factors as reasons for declining the offer that had not been part of the prior dialogue in the available records: 1) the salary offered, and 2) the distance he would have to travel to work at ACME. The records indicate that the rejection was completely unexpected by a number of participants, and that neither of these issues had been raised by the candidate during the six-week period of meetings and dialogue between the candidate that had included two visits to

ACME. This rich point served as an anchor for this study, and by tracing backward and forward from it, I was able to construct a detailed event map of the actions and discourse by each of the participants that had led up to the event, as well as the consequential actions that followed. The event map helps with making visible who said and did what, with whom, in what context, with what outcomes, and the complex patterns of the interactions among individuals across time and events. The intertextual analysis of chains of conversations also serves to identify the actual (as opposed to formal) roles of different participants, and how these shaped the outcomes of their interactions with others as evidenced in their subsequent actions and discourse.

Overview of Chapters

This study is organized as follows: Chapter II provides an overview of the definition of internships and prior studies of the impact of internships on interns. It also includes a review of prior research on recruitment—the activity by which individuals enter an organization and an organization attracts a new employee. The analysis makes visible how studies of internships have tended to be based on statistical analysis of survey data of companies' intentions for internships and student participation in internships, while studies of recruitment have been based on a behavior models by which recruitment activities are represented as a process involving a standard sequence of uniform steps. In this study, I discuss and argue for an approach to studying the formation of internships, who has access to internships, and how interns are recruited based on a social constructionist ontology and an epistemological approach based on interactional ethnography. This approach seeks to make visible how individuals interact with each other from moment to moment across time and,

thereby, shape and are shaped by those interactions. This provides the basis for Chapter III in which I present the logic of inquiry for this study, sources of data, how data was collected, archived, analyzed and (re)analyzed as questions emerged through an iterative process. From this approach emerged evidence that the recruitment of an intern by ACME was not a linear process but involved three attempts, the first two of which were unsuccessful, and that each involved a number of different actors in different roles. I, therefore, present in Chapters IV, V and VI my analysis of these three recruitment attempts in the chronological order in which they took place even though they partially overlapped with each other. In Chapter VII, I present a discussion of the analysis of the preceding chapters in which I confirm prior research findings, challenge the findings of previous studies of internships, how organizations go about recruiting interns, and how graduates gain access to internships, before identifying new findings and future areas of research that are prompted by this study.

Chapter II: Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

This study examines actions of individuals and social interactions across individuals and organizations that took place over a period of 13 weeks as a company (ACME) made a decision to recruit an intern, designed a role for that intern and went about recruiting an intern. This literature review is divided into four sections. The first two areas reviewed provide an overview of definitions of who counts as an “intern” and as an “internship” respectively. I then review the existing studies of the outcomes of internships for the intern and the organization in which they are situated. The final section of the literature review includes an analysis of prior research in the field of recruitment and the conceptual approaches that have been taken to date to study intern recruitment activity. The prior research provides the basis on which I constructed my conceptual approach to this study of internships. It has also contributed to my understanding how the outcomes of my research can confirm or challenge the findings of others in respect of internships and ways this study can generate new insights into questions raised by prior studies.

Interns

Formal studies accessed as part of my literature review contained definitions of an internship, but I was unable to find a statement of what defines an intern beyond the broadly drawn definition found in a dictionary: “A student or recent graduate who works for a period of time at a job in order to get experience; a person who works in a hospital in order to complete training as a doctor” (Merriam Webster Online 2018). In the absence of published articles that define “intern,” I searched the Internet for a definition using the search term “intern.” The search revealed a wide range of definitions that were articulated on the

websites of recruitment companies seeking interns on behalf of their clients, companies that wanted interns, and dictionaries for terms used in particular industry sectors. Definitions of interns transcribed from five randomly selected websites are shown in Appendix A. I limited my transcriptions from the websites of recruitment companies or employers, to those parts of their websites in which appeared the description of the internship positions they were looking to fill. Subsequently I analyzed these definitions using a semantic analysis (Spradley, 1979) and the results of that analysis are presented in Table 2.1. The analysis provides evidence of who counts an intern, or who might be identified as an intern, what an intern does, under what conditions, where and with whom, and with what outcomes for the intern and the organization where the intern is situated. This data makes visible that the ways in which the definition of an intern has been conceptualized can vary considerably according to the profession and according to the particular site seeking an intern within the same profession.

A medical intern is identified in Table 2.1 as a person who is engaged in progressing their formal education under formal supervision in order to obtain a qualification to practice medicine or dentistry. A medical intern may also be a nursing graduate undergoing formal training in order to qualify as a staff nurse. For these professions, becoming an intern is the identity they assume while undergoing training in order to satisfy the standards of their chosen profession that is a condition of them assuming a new professional identity. Within the medical profession, the identity of interns and the standards they must satisfy vary according to the branch of medicine they have selected, such as nursing or dentistry.

According to www.internship.com (2018), a website that offers internships advice for those seeking an internship and an advertising space for those seeking legal interns, a legal intern is engaged to work with legal attorneys who mentor the intern in the kinds of work

they will do. In the event the intern wishes to become an attorney, they will need to pass the Bar Exam for which help is available from the legal attorneys. While this website makes no mention of the type of person who can be identified as a legal intern, www.lawcrossing.com (2018) indicates explicitly that to secure the position of an internship, the candidate is required to have specified academic credentials and class rank; to have participated in extra-curricular activities; possess communication skills and be interested in public service; and to have worked previously. These selection criteria make visible the expectations that have been set forth for the preparation of an individual seeking to become a legal intern at the company. The legal intern is not remunerated for their work, which usually takes place in the summer, but they may secure academic credit as an outcome. In addition to defining what an intern *is*, the University of Utah (2012) defines what an intern is *not* as a warning to legal interns who may, after completing an internship, mistakenly proceed to identify themselves as “law clerks” when presenting themselves to judges’ chambers for a full-time job.

Table 2.1 also documents the results of the semantic analysis of role descriptions for finance interns that were published on the internet by two companies—Nike Inc., a consumer sportswear brand, and Octopus Ventures, a private equity fund. I chose these two companies for contrastive purposes as they have different business activities and locations, and both were seeking to employ a finance intern. My analysis of the descriptions of the two companies’ job advertisements for a finance intern revealed a number of points of similarity: Both had extensive descriptions of the type of intern whom they were seeking to recruit. In both instances, the role, responsibilities, and working conditions (apart from pay in the case of Nike Inc.) were not made visible in the position description. Neither finance intern role description offered the prospect to the intern of becoming a full-time employee. Both

advertisements lacked information about the intended outcomes for the intern. However, Nike Inc. was very explicit about the benefits it anticipated that the intern would deliver to Nike Inc.: “Consumer-led revenue growth as well as engineer profitability aligned with the category strategy” for which the proposed pay is \$13.46 - \$18.71 per hour.” By way of comparison, in 2018, the minimum wage in Oregon where the intern was to be located was \$12 per hour. Uniquely, Octopus defined what an intern would *not* be asked to do: *“look for potential new investment opportunities.”*

The analysis of the online postings indicates that the ways in which the role of an intern and the related norms and expectations are conceptualized varies based on the specific context in which the internship is offered, including the type of organization and the profession in which it is situated. Each offeror determines what is made available to the intern agreeing to participate in an internship, and what the future opportunities may be for the intern as a result of his or her participation. Of the four intern roles that were analyzed, Octopus Ventures uniquely defines the intern as “A leader able to initiate change with an ability to listen, counsel and coach” with the responsibility, amongst other objectives, to “operationalize this transfer of knowledge and facilitate knowledge share to and from time-strapped founders.” In defining the intern as an agent of change, Octopus Ventures invests in the intern a degree of power and influence not made visible in the other intern roles analyzed.

Table 2.1

Definitions of Interns

Source	X Is a Type of Intern	Who Does X	Under X Conditions	In Location X	That Leads to Y
The Medical Dictionary (2018)	An allied health professional	Undertakes a learning experience	Working a designated number of hours	In a clinical setting	A license to practice medicine or dentistry
	A medical or dental graduate	Serves until licensed to practice medicine or dentistry Attends classes and seminars	Works under the direction of a preceptor who serves as a role model as well as a support person and guide in clinical practice Under supervision by a more experienced clinician		
	A physical therapy student enrolled in an educational program in a college or university in some states In other states, a physical therapist who has completed the required academic coursework		Under supervision by a licensed, practicing physical therapist Enrolled in a nursing internship program	In a hospital or a clinic	Transition from the student role to the staff nurse role. Developed basic and specialized nursing skills
	A graduate professional nurse		Three months to a year		Retention of nurses and increased effectiveness of nursing care

Source	X Is a Type of Intern	Who Does X	Under X Conditions	In Location X	That Leads to Y
www.internships.com (2018)		<p>Work directly with legal attorneys</p> <p>Prepares for Bar Exam (possibly with help)</p> <p>Receives advice on how to handle tough cases, how to think and write logically. how to use research, practice and case management software</p>		A law firm	
www.lawcrossing.com (2018)	<p>Law students wishing to gain experience in legal field and also wanting to have an excellent view of what the practice of law</p> <p>Law students with a grade point average and class rank, who participate in extracurricular activities, have oral and written communication skills, interest in public service, and prior employment</p>	<p>Research and write memoranda; manage case files; perform administrative duties such as filing, copying staffing receptionist's desks; assist with preparation for trials, hearings, and depositions; attend client meetings; assist constituents; attend trials, hearings, arguments, and depositions; research legislative histories, etc.</p> <p>Interns are also usually involved in writing articles and contributing</p>	<p>Unpaid</p> <p>Work under the supervision, and with the assistance of, experienced lawyers</p> <p>Full-time in the summer</p>		Academic credit (possibly)

Source	X Is a Type of Intern	Who Does X	Under X Conditions	In Location X	That Leads to Y
		to the booklets on specific legal topics			
28 University of Utah (2012)	Is <i>not</i> a law clerk		Unpaid		Good experience Academic credit (possibly)
Nike Inc. (2018)	An undergraduate expecting to graduate by winter or spring, with emphasis in finance or accounting, having software proficiency, strong knowledge of budgeting, investment analysis, economic profit concepts and strategic planning concepts, financial modeling, scenario planning, and	Supports the Global Revenue and Margin team Prepares timely and insightful financial analysis of pertinent information, financial modeling, scenario planning, and reporting Supports category finance in the three-year long-	Paid (\$28,000-\$41,000 p.a.)	In Nike Inc. Beaverton, Oregon	Consumer-led revenue growth as well as engineer profitability aligned with the category strategy

Source	X Is a Type of Intern	Who Does X	Under X Conditions	In Location X	That Leads to Y
	reporting, experience leading projects and/or people is a plus, excellent communication skills and experience with influencing	term financial and strategic planning processes and quarterly business reviews			
	Has successfully navigated ambiguity, especially while working with a team,	Reports on the current year category financial performance			
		Develops robust franchise financial plans to drive long-term growth, profitability and market share gains while ensuring healthy inventory levels			
		Provides analysis and insight to help finance director and margin planners set and track appropriate seasonal revenue and margin targets to maximize marketplace opportunity and drive profitability			
		Supports category team in holistically managing the business by connecting internal financials to external			

Source	X Is a Type of Intern	Who Does X	Under X Conditions	In Location X	That Leads to Y
		business performance indicators (i.e. sell through, market share, retail/DC inventory, etc.)			
Octopus Ventures (2018)	<p>Ambitious and flexible, prepared to frequently step out of comfort zone, work hard to deliver the team's goals, and have a desire to create a positive, happy work environment</p> <p>Personable, engaging and able to build relationships quickly and easily</p> <p>Able to research, assimilate and communicate complex ideas clearly and succinctly in writing and verbally</p>	<p>Support a variety of exceptional founders in different ways day to day</p> <p>Primary focus will be around identifying, researching and communicating best practice for successful market entry into the US to our portfolio of 60+ companies</p> <p>Find ways to unleash the strategies, best practices, quick hacks and bear-traps-to-avoid trapped inside the best and brightest minds in tech</p> <p>Help our portfolio companies meet the</p>	<p><i>Full-time basis for around 6 months</i></p> <p><i>Always be learning.</i></p>	Octopus New York but joined to Octopus team in London	

Source	X Is a Type of Intern	Who Does X	Under X Conditions	In Location X	That Leads to Y
	Able to see the big picture, and sweat the tiniest details though	challenges of scaling their businesses in the US by building a relevant network of executives, service providers, corporates and growth stage investors			
	Very organized, are comfortable working on own and within a team, and engaging in multiple projects at any one time.	Help organize meaningful events for our portfolio, and bring leaders together to share what they know			
	A leader, and are able initiate change with an ability to listen, counsel and coach.	Operationalize this transfer of knowledge and facilitate knowledge share to and from time-strapped founders			
	Have had exposure to the technology industry within a startup, leading technology company or consultancy	Help out on other related duties to meet the ongoing needs of Octopus Ventures – some of which are as yet unknown, and some of which will be defined			
	Have an outstanding network in the U.S. startup scene	Work seamlessly with our team in London			
	Graduated from a leading university with an excellent academic record	Will not be asked to look for potential new investment opportunities			

Internships

Formal studies containing definitions of what counts as an “internship” were also hard to find. In many instances the term for the identity of a person (the “intern”) was conflated with descriptions of what an intern *does* (an “internship”). Table 2.2 presents transcripts of excerpts from two published studies of internships (Stretch and Harp, 1991; Stack and Fede, 2017) and extracts from a sample of definitions of internships that were randomly sourced from the Internet using the search term “internship,” and then analyzed using semantic analysis (Spradley, 1979).

A number of patterns emerge from my analysis of the definitions of internships presented in the Table 2.2. The University of Houston makes references to co-operative education as a pedagogy and offers evidence that cooperative education is both a type of internship and a recruitment tool for companies who participate in such programs. Across all of the studies analyzed, a number of common features emerge: 1) the concept that an internship can serve as a bridge from the academic world to the place of work, and, by doing so, links class concepts to the real world; 2) internships are seen to offer insights into the world of work; and 3) internships take place off-campus in a “practical setting or practical leaning environment”—a place of work. Across all of the studies that I identified, I was unable to uncover any analysis of how internships are designed, how interns gain access to internships, how interns are recruited, the demands that the internship will make of those employees in the corporation where the internship occurs, and the impact of the internship on the employees there.

The sources I used for the definitions of internships were drawn predominantly from academic institutions or university career counselors. Across all definitions there was a focus on the benefits to the student of an internship in terms of work experience, career advancement and the opportunity to build a professional network. The example of cooperative education provided by the University of Houston brings together all the above features of internships and differentiates cooperative education from more general internships in its formality and the direct involvement of the university with the entities where their student will carry out their internship. Cooperative education forms part of the university's education programming as opposed to an offering by an employer who is independent of the university.

The U.S. Department of Labor, under the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA), provides a number of definitions of internships and uses these as a set of tests to determine whether the internship being undertaken should be considered as employment and, if so, should be remunerated. This guidance establishes that should the benefit of the internship accrue to the employer through cost savings, then the internship should be remunerated. In other words, the FLSA provides a legal definition of what counts as a *paid* or *unpaid* internship (what is and what is not permissible). There is little evidence of organizations being prosecuted for employing unpaid interns on terms that are not consistent with FLSA.

Table 2.2

Definitions of Internships

Source	X Is a Type of Internship	Which Provide X	Under X Conditions	In Location X	That Leads to Y
Stack and Fede (2017)		Educational approach Connect class concepts to real-world Practice, and solving problems	Collaborating with community partners Uses academic knowledge	Practical setting	Innovative results, develop professional skills
Stretch and Harp (1991)		Working and learning experience Opportunities to apply and extend the theoretical knowledge acquired in the classroom to practical experiences Opportunities to view and evaluate careers to which their academic interests may lead	Supervised	Off-campus	Academic credit Establish positive contacts with prospective employers Professional networks
University of Berkeley Career Center (2018)		Uses theories learned in class Networks (verb) Test Drive	Duration is agreed upon ahead of time and is short-term (typically a summer, a semester, or a year) Full or part time hours Paid or non –paid Directly related to a career goal or field of interest Emphasis on learning and professional development which may involve guidance of a mentor figure	On-site work	Professional development Academic credit possibly, Valuable work experience Competitive edge for job hunt and graduate school applications

Source	X Is a Type of Internship	Which Provide X	Under X Conditions	In Location X	That Leads to Y
				Practical learning environment	Professional and marketable skills Knowledge of type of work, atmosphere, hours, coworkers, etc. Letters of recommendation, and connections to employer who may offer full-time work in the future, business contacts
35	University of Wisconsin-Madison (website, Feb. 10, 2018)	A great first step in a field you love			Getting hands-on experience Discovering a specific occupation Discovering if a specific occupation is right
	University of California Berkeley Career Center (website, Feb. 10, 2018)	A wonderful and effective way to connect academic experience with the professional work arena			Valuable exposure to the workplace Provides the opportunity for skill development Provides competitive edge in the job search
	National Association of Colleges and Employers (website, Feb. 10, 2018)	A form of experiential learning that integrates knowledge and theory learned in the classroom with practical application and skills development Makes connections in professional fields Learns from a working experience	Supervised	A professional setting off-campus	Valuable applied experience Connections in professional fields

Source	X Is a Type of Internship	Which Provide X	Under X Conditions	In Location X	That Leads to Y
University of Houston's Engineering Center (website, Feb. 10, 2018)	The University of Houston Cooperative Education Program (CO-OP) is an internship program	Career training Work with professionals in their major fields of study. Enhanced the students' academic training Work experience	For full-time actively enrolled students within a degree seeking program Paid		The opportunity to guide and evaluate talent(for employer) Academic credit Opportunities to apply and extend the theoretical knowledge acquired in the classroom to practical experiences, Opportunities to view and evaluate careers to which their academic interests may lead. Positive contacts with prospective employers. Professional networks for students
	Competitive industry leaders and higher education institutions "cooperating" with one another	Hands-on work experience	In areas such as government, business, industry, and human services Offered on a part-time, parallel basis (20 hours or less weekly) or a full-time, alternating basis (21-40 hours weekly). UH CO-OP is not offered to recent UH graduates or alumni		Career training Student's official college transcript documents professional and educational experience. A valuable asset Vital assistance from student interns
	A recruiting tool				

Source	X Is a Type of Internship	Which Provide X	Under X Conditions	In Location X	That Leads to Y
U.S. Fair Labor Standards Act		<p>Training that would be similar to that which would be given in an educational environment, including the clinical and other hands-on training provided by educational institutions</p> <p>Integrated with formal education program</p>	Any promise of compensation, express or implied, suggests that the intern is an employee—and vice versa The internship accommodates the intern's academic commitments by corresponding to the academic calendar	Paid	<p>Company projects and initiatives. completed Companies fill their new hire vacancies with graduates from their own CO-OP programs wherever possible</p> <p>A possible employee Academic credit Training that would be similar to that which would be given in an educational environment, including the clinical and other hands-on training provided by educational institutions</p> <p>No entitlement to employment at end of internship</p>
			The internship's duration is limited to the period in which the internship provides the intern with beneficial learning. Intern's work complements, rather than displaces, the work of paid employees while providing significant educational benefits to the intern	Unpaid Internship	

In comparing and contrasting the definitions of interns versus internships, I identified differences between the kinds of sources of the definitions. This may also account for the differences in the definitions themselves. Thus, the sources for definitions of interns that could be found were mainly recruitment companies and employers of interns. By contrast, definitions of internships that could be found were mainly academic institutions. In terms of the nature of these definitions, recruitment companies and employers defined the intern by the qualifications and experience that were required for an applicant to compete for the position (e.g., medical graduate or an undergraduate with emphasis on finance). The position that the intern would fill was defined by recruiters in terms of tasks and responsibilities and for whom they would work. In these definitions, little was indicated of the outcomes for the intern apart from those for medical interns for whom an internship represents a step down a well-established path to professional qualifications in the medical professions. For other types of interns, the path to professional qualifications was far less clear and, at most, academic credits were indicated as a possible outcome. In the context of Nike Inc. and Octopus, the anticipated outcome from the employment of an intern was anticipated to be a positive impact on the performance of these businesses with no mention of benefits accruing to the intern.

The varying definitions of what it means to fill the position of an internship and what an internship signifies in pedagogical terms, makes visible the diversity of roles and relationships, norms and expectations, rights and obligations that currently exist. Ways in which individuals and organizations conceptualize and communicate about the role of an intern and internship opportunities are shaped by who is offering the definition and the context of the internship. Despite the presence of laws in the US that regulate internships

and specify who can be identified as an intern and under what conditions, this review of current practices and prior research indicates there is a wide range of understandings of who counts as an intern and what counts as an internship.

The Impact of Internships

Empirical evidence of outcomes of workplace-based learning is found in research on young people entering the workplace focused primarily on apprenticeships. The learning and development opportunities enterprises make available to apprentices, have encompassed contexts ranging from supermarket butchers (Marshall, 1972), ironworkers (Hass, 1972), midwives in Mexico (Jordan, 1989), tailors in Liberia (Lave, 1993), quartermasters in the U.S. Navy (Hutchins, 1996), and junior lawyers (Hara and Schwen, 2008)). Lave and Wegner (1991) drew on a number of these studies to construct a theory of learning built upon the central concept of communities of practice to explain how apprentices (“newbies” and novices) acquired the knowledge and practices of masters (“old-timers”) in the workplace. With their focus on “newbies,” these studies have paid little attention to outcomes for the “old-timers,” the impact of these new entrants on the social groups in which such studies have been situated and how the “newbie” and organization were brought together in the first place to construct the internship.

Until recently, there has been little research focused on outcomes for *students* who participate in internships. Much of this research is based on surveys of summer interns. The National Association of Colleges and Employers (NACE), for example, published a statistical analysis of outcomes for the student derived from an internship experience. The studies have identified a relationship between employability and whether the internship was

paid or not (Crain, 2016), between employability and GPA, and the total number of internships a student completed as an undergraduate student (Townesley and others, 2017). Studies have found that the internship experience enhances employability (Taylor, 1998), competence in communication, initiative, analytical skills and teamwork (Stack and Fede, 2017), career self-efficacy (Gardner, 2011), academic outcomes (Gavigan, 2010), including multicultural skills (Simons and others, 2012), help students to develop their professional networks (Aldas and others, 2010), result in higher incomes (Gault, 2000; Nace, 2014), and result in a full-time offer of employment (Gardner and others, 2009).

There is also limited research on the outcomes of co-operative education programs (a kind of internship) beyond the general claims made for them. Reasons for this are a lack of data on co-operative education enrollment and completions, difficulties of separating the effects of different types of program (e.g., informal internships versus formal co-operative education), lack of a clear definition of co-op education versus other forms of internship, and challenges in accurately identifying variables and relationships between them.

The challenge faced by these largely quantitative studies of internship outcomes is one of controlling for internship quality with respect to the role, especially given the diversity of internships described above. In addition, factors such as the degree of socialization into the organization, autonomy of the intern and quality of supervision received (Crain, 2015, Beard and others, 1999) and citizenship status, academic major, financial need, and use of the career center (Townesley and others, 2017), challenge the inferences that can be drawn by quantitative analysis of internship effects. Gardner (2011) has suggested that young people “will not get a high-level job in the economy without an internship” and that “off-campus work/study programs provide an invaluable educational asset to students that simply cannot

be duplicated in the classroom or through on-campus employment.” University of Michigan survey data for 2012-2013 indicates that having experience of more than one internship may be beneficial, with 55% of companies indicating they expected graduate employees to have two internship experiences and 11% expecting three internship experiences. However, as Gardner (2013) has noted:

Most career practitioners have gained an understanding into the mechanics of internship programs from years of close relationships with organizations partnering with their institutions. Despite our familiarity with internship programs we actually do not know a great deal about them. (p. 1)

With the primary focus of research on the impact of internships on the young people who participate in them, there has been little analysis of the impact of the intern on the organizations or the employees within the company where the internship takes place. According to a survey by the University of Michigan Collegiate Employment Research Institute’s Recruiting Trends 2012-2013 (p. 33), the purpose of internships from the perspective of the companies surveyed were:

- Fifty-seven percent identify and develop talent for full-time employment and workforce succession planning;
- Twenty-three percent supplement staffing for special projects and targeted assignments;
- Fifteen percent support the development of future talent in the company’s profession (K-12 and health fields for example);

- Five percent fulfill the organization's social responsibility by providing professional enrichment experiences; and
- One percent cover assignments of staff on vacation, or leave.

In terms of outcomes for organizations offering internships, NACE (2017) notes that internships may “give employers the opportunity to guide and evaluate talent” and notes that:

Over the last several years, the vast majority of employers with internship (75.2%) and co-op (65.9%) programs indicated the primary focus of these programs was to recruit college graduates for full-time, entry-level positions.

Further evidence for this is provided by Gardner, Chao and Hearst (2009) who, in analyzing the results of a survey of an employer hiring survey, observed that:

Companies and organizations have found that their internship and co-op programs are one of the most effective recruiting tools to acquire promising and talented new employees. Employees responding to MSU's annual college hiring survey reported that 50% of their new hires completed internships or co-ops within the company and an additional 40% interned with another organization (Recruiting Trends, 2004-2005). Ninety percent of a company's new hires will have had work-related experiences prior to matriculating into the workplace. Some companies have stated they will not consider a candidate for employment who has not completed an internship. (p. 4)

Akst (2015) has argued that unpaid internships disadvantage the access of lower income groups to the opportunities that internships represent and also offer companies for whom they work the benefit of cheap labor.

Research that is available on workplace-based learning outcomes (as opposed to their intended purpose), whether within the framework of apprenticeship or internship or cooperative education, offers little data on internship practices and how the outcomes of internships are shaped across time, by whom and under what conditions. Gardner (2013) has noted:

Surveying employers is challenging because internship programs are unique to an organization. Thus an observer would need to have a large number of employers participating in the survey to obtain universally applied characteristics of how internships are managed. Depending on the aspect of the program the survey targets, an added challenge is making sure the correct individual has access to the survey. (p. 1)

This lack of evidence of what “*happens*” in an internship gives rise to a range of interpretations of the practices of those undertaking and offering internships as presented earlier in this chapter. Perlin (2012) observes:

whether you are an intern or an employer no one knows what they mean. Internships may be everywhere today, but they remain such a recent, chaotic phenomenon that there are seldom any rules of the road, any standards or codes of conduct that are honored - only vague expectations, for which no one is help accountable. (p. xi)

Perlin adds:

In the last few decades, internships have spread to virtually every industry, and almost every country, while internship related businesses and campus career offices

proliferate Yet comparatively little that is solid, sober and actionable is known about the internship explosion, how many there are, in what fields, and what social and economic consequences arise from what interns do. (pp. xii-xiii)

The same paucity of research that exists on outcomes for students who participate in internships also exists for the impact of internships on the employees of the company where the internship is situated. Few published papers inform understandings of the circumstances under which internships are created. Little is known about how and why companies make decisions to create an intern position, and the decisions and practices by which an internship position is created and supported over time. Both the earlier research on the impact of apprenticeships and the more recent research on internship outcomes have left unaddressed the pathways to securing access to a workplace-based learning opportunity (such as an internship), how these opportunities are brought into being, by whom, and how the “newbie” identifies and negotiates access to the internship opportunity. Few studies are available to inform understandings of how companies go about identifying, attracting an intern and preparing the “old-timers” for the arrival of the “newbie.” Gaining an understanding of these issues is essential given the potential benefits of internships identified above for both the intern and the employer.

Gardner (2011), in his analysis of a survey of 27,355 students and 234 American colleges conducted by the Collegiate Employment Research Institute at Michigan State University, indicated that 23% of students in the survey reported that they did not plan to participate in an internship while in college. A further 47% had plans to secure an internship but had not done so (so whether they did so or not is not known). There has been no research

to uncover why these students had not entered on the pathway to the search for an internship and secured one, or did not intend to do so and yet, given the stated importance of internships to students and companies.

Recruitment

The activities by which an organization seeks to attract a new member and an individual seeks to secure entry to that organization, are often referred to using the term “recruitment.” In order to prepare the ground for this study, I conducted a semantic analysis of a number of definitions of recruitment provided by those who have studied this activity. The analysis is presented in Table 2.3 and, in reading across the analysis of the four sources, a pattern emerges. By all four definitions, recruitment is conceptualized as an *organizational* activity that involves searching, identifying, and attracting individuals to accept an offer to fill a vacancy and become an employee.

Table 2.3

An Overview of Recruitment Definitions

Source	Definition	X Is Type of Recruitment	With the Purpose X	That Leads to Y
Rynes (1991)	“encompass(ing) all organizational practices and decisions that affect either the number or types of individuals who are willing to apply for, or to accept, a given vacancy (p. 429)	Organizational practices and decisions	Affect either the number or types of individuals	To apply for, or to accept, a given vacancy
Breaugh (1992)	“Employee recruitment involves those organization activities that (1) influence the number and types of applicants who apply for a position and/or affect whether a job offer is accepted” (p. 4)	Organization activities	Influence the number and types of applicants who apply for a position	Whether a job offer is accepted
Barber (1998)	“include those practices and activities carried on by the organization with the primary purpose of identifying and attracting potential employees” (p. 5)	Practices carried on by the organization	Identifying and attracting	Potential employees
Taylor and Collins (2000)	“recruitment includes the set of activities undertaken by the organization for the primary purpose of identifying a desirable group of applicants, attracting them into its employment ranks, and retaining them at least for the short term” (p. 5)	Set of activities undertaken by the organization	Identifying a desirable group of applicants, attracting them and retaining them	Employment ranks

Research into the practice of recruitment is a relatively young discipline and, as noted by Rynes (1991) and Taylor and Collins (2000), it expanded rapidly in 20 years prior to their studies. During that period, the preponderance of research was mainly based on psychology and organizational studies and focused on the impact of recruitment on the individual (applicant responses, applicant source effects, and realism in recruitment discourse) rather than the organization (Barber, 1998, Taylor and Collins, 2000). Research on the impact on individuals was, initially, largely founded on laboratory-based surveys of students' attitudes (Carson, Ross and Mecham III, 2013) and had progressed from seeking to understand tactical outcomes of recruitment activities to focus more on providing insights into how different decisions in the organization may influence recruitment outcomes, and to support organizations in becoming more effective in their recruitment activities.

Barber (1998) provides a useful overview of the current research on recruitment and from this proposes that recruitment consists of three phases—identification, selection, and attraction that reflect the intent of the recruiter. Taylor and Collins (2000) adopted this argument and stated that “it was more appropriate to define recruitment by its intent, rather than by its effects” (p. 5). In their metastudy of 86 recruitment evaluation studies drawn from psychology and business literature, Carlson et al. (2013) structured their analysis using the Staff Cycles Framework proposed by Carlson and Connerley (2003) in which the actors, contexts and activities of staffing are defined by staffing cycles that are composed of a sequence of seven decision events, each of which are controlled by a decision maker—either the individual or the organizational decision maker. Each decision event bounds a set of actors, contexts and activities, and once a decision is taken, the actors proceed to the next decision event or abandon the cycle. Carson and Connerley labelled those decision events

that are linked to recruitment as: 1) the individual's decision to enter the workforce; 2) the organization's decision maker's decisions about the design of the position; 3) the individual's decision to apply for the position; 4) the organization's decision maker's decision regarding who will be selected to receive an offer of employment; and 5) the individual's decision whether to accept the offer. Decision events (1) and (2) were represented as the initialization phase, and decision events (3), (4) and (5) were represented as the matching phases, and in each of these phases, it is left up to the decision maker at each stage to decide whether to proceed to the next decision event or withdraw from the cycle. Thus, the organization and the individual follow a decision making tree—"if yes/no, then X or Y follows." This concept presents recruitment as a process consisting of a uniform series of intentioned and sequential steps leading to the individual's decision to accept the offer from the organization. This, and other models of recruitment that are based on organization behavior theories, conceptualize recruitment as being a process involving two participants—the recruiting organization and the individual engaged in that process that is decontextualized from the social context and the identities of the participants.

Much of this research on recruitment focuses on general recruitment versus recruitment within a specific context. The research is based on attitude surveys (Barnet, 2012), frequently of graduate students taking a full-time employment role (Chapman et al., 2005). The research has its roots in the disciplines of psychology and organizational behavior and, consequently published studies appear in publications such as the *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *International Journal of Management*, *Clothing and Textile Research Journal*, *Journal of*

Economic Behavior and Organization. The Oxford Handbook of Recruitment is one in a series of handbooks published by the Oxford Library of Psychology.

By contrast, there is a lack of research based on the observation and analysis of the interactions of participants as they engage in recruitment activities and the outcomes across time of these interactions. This finding is supported by Carlson, Ross, and Mecham III (2013) who, in recognizing that potential limitations of recruitment research based on attitude measures taken in a laboratory, called for “an increase in the number of studies that examine recruitment in real organizational settings [because] it is not clear to what extent recruitment research generalizes to decision making as it occurs in the context of real recruitment in organizations” (p. 205).

Studies by others suggest that recruiting and being recruited is far more complex than organizational behaviorist models would suggest. These other studies reflect a different ontological view and epistemological approach to gaining an understanding of what happens during recruitment activities, and how the social context, interactions and discourse between the participants may shape the actions taken by individuals from within the organization and by the potential employee during the recruitment activity, and the outcomes of those interactions. I will briefly review how these studies can inform understandings of what happens during recruitment activities.

Recruitment as a Social Activity

There are several reasons for adopting a different approach to studying the phenomenon of recruitment. These reasons are grounded in the observations of Gumperz (1992):

In job selection, for example, replacing a practical demonstration of the applicant's ability to do a particular job are elaborate procedures involving complex verbal tasks. From the filling out of application forms, the career counseling session, the job interview, and salary negotiation assumptions about how information is conveyed are critical and these are assumptions which vary widely even within the same socio-economic group in the same community ... Hence candidates who do well may or may not be as competent to do the job as the non-successful test taker. Finally, personnel, judgements and many other societal evaluations, are grounded in the individual's ability to talk and make a good presentation of him/herself as well as the ability to pass tests. (p. 4)

Gumperz (1982) proceeds to identify the role of language in shaping recruitment activities and outcomes:

Language differences play an important positive role in signaling information as well as in creating and maintaining the subtle boundaries of power, status, role and occupational specialization that make up the fabric of our social life. Assumptions about value differences associated with these boundaries in fact form the very basis for the indirect communicative strategies employed in key gatekeeping encounters such as employment interviews. (pp. 6-7)

Gatekeepers, Sponsors, Cultural Guides and Personal Networks

In identifying the role of gatekeepers to decide who can enter a social group, Gumperz draws attention to a role and identity that has received attention from ethnographers when negotiating entry to a research site. Johnson (1975), Burgess (1984), Agar (2008),

Walford (2008), and Hammersley and Atkinson (2017), provide extensive reviews of the challenges faced by ethnographers in negotiating access to a research site and a summary of these are provided in Table 2.4. These studies serve to identify many of the complex interactions that occur at the boundaries of a social group and identify not only gatekeepers, but also other actors who may participate as informants (cultural guides), sponsors and members of personal networks, and the roles each may play at a boundary to a social group when a stranger (the researcher) approaches.

Table 2.4

Researchers Negotiating Access to Opportunities for Studying

Researcher/Stranger	Social Context	Observations
Sampson & Thomas (2003)	On board a ship	Access needed to be negotiated with multiple actors - shipping company, ship captain and other crew members
Knox (2001)	Northern Ireland	Researchers' access to victims of punishment beatings determined by perceptions of victims limited by community organization's concerns that researchers were probation officers
Barbera-Stein (1979)	Therapeutic and child day care centers	Who can grant access to children (social workers or parents?)
Wolf (1991)	Harley Davidson biker clubs	Subjected to a security check by a biker club member
Liebow (1967)	Neighborhoods with low-income males	An individual with access to the neighborhood becomes a "sponsor" into it
Whyte (1981)	Street corner boys	A "sponsor" provides friendship and coaches on appropriate behavior and demeanor
Cassell (1998)	Surgeons	Access blocked until friend of husband in researcher's personal network access intervened
Hoffman (1980)	Hospital board of directors	Personal network (family ties) enabled access to insiders who were otherwise not open to the researcher
Gouldner (1954)	Gypsum plant	Access needed to be negotiated with multiple actors - union, company central management and local managers
Whitten	Nova Scotia Black communities	Role of middleman for securing access to the gatekeeper

Researcher/Stranger	Social Context	Observations
Bogdan & Taylor (1975)	Detention homes for youth	Supervisor controlled access of researcher to when and what they could observe
Barrett (1971)	Benabarre, Spain	Etic perspective of researcher on who to approach limits access. "Informant" makes visible informal hierarchy invisible to the researcher
Hansen (1977)	Alto Panades, Spain	Sponsor provides access and advises researcher on how to approach "insiders"
Troman (1996)	School	Gatekeeper was not the head teacher but the Senior Management Team
Walford (1986b, 1987)	Schools	Rejection until access granted on basis of reference from professional network

The studies cited in Table 2.4 identify the challenges researchers faced in gaining access to a wide range of research sites, which, for the researcher, represented an opportunity to learn about the ways of being of the group they wished to study. Thus, Wolf (1991) reported that “I felt I had made the first of a long series of border crossings that all bikers go through if they hope to get close to the club” (pp. 212-213). Strangers may find themselves having to negotiate access to a site with a “deviant” or “gatekeeper” to whom Agar (2008) refers as a “professional stranger handlers.” These individuals control the access of strangers to insiders in that they may facilitate or block access to them. Gatekeepers may also direct the stranger to suitable or unsuitable informants.

Prior research has identified the role of personal networks in identifying for the stranger “gatekeepers” and “sponsors.” The studies of Hoffman (1988), Cassell (1990), and Walford (1986), make visible that access to a gatekeeper, informant, or sponsor, was made possible through the personal or professional networks of the researcher. Atkinson and Hammersley (2007) argue that sponsorship may be gained through “the mobilization of existing social networks, based on acquaintanceship, kinship, occupational memberships and so on” (p. 47), and these are individuals who can assist (and block) the entry of the stranger to the social group by providing referrals and recommendations (or not).

Agar (2008) highlights the risks to the stranger of relying on information provided by a gatekeeper if the information provided by them is incorrect, Spradley, in addressing that risk, (1979) recommends that the gatekeeper’s reliability be assessed on the basis of their degree of enculturation and familiarity with the cultural scene. Both Agar (2008) and Spradley (1979) characterize these steps toward gaining access to “insiders” as ones of finding a trustworthy guide with whom a *rapport* can be built over time. Nevertheless, the

challenge remains for the approaching stranger—how to find someone to approach, whom to approach and how to build a rapport that will facilitate access.

A good example of the role of the intermediary between strangers is provided by Agar (1994) who reports on his own role in mediating the worlds of American and Mexican businessmen. In this study, Agar is seen as a boundary crosser, a term used by Pink (2006) to describe an individual who “can operate with equal aplomb in starkly different realms ... The develop expertise in multiple spheres, they speak different languages ...” (p. 134) and can bridge Languaculture 1 and 2 (Agar, 1994). In his mediating role, Agar demonstrated what Spradley (1979) refers to as “translation competence” and which Spradley defines as “the ability to translate the meanings of one culture into a form that is appropriate to another” (p. 19).

The knowledge to be gained from studying these interactions of the boundaries of different groups has been highlighted by Atkinson and Hammersley (2007):

In many ways gaining access is a thoroughly practical matter. As we shall see it involves drawing on intra- and inter-personal resources and strategies that we all tend to develop in dealing with everyday life. But achieving access is not merely a practical concern. Not only does its achievement depend upon tactical understanding, often diagnosed as “native wit”, but also the discovery of obstacles to access and perhaps effective means of overcoming them, itself provides insights into the organization of the setting or the orientation of the people being researched. (p. 41)

Negotiating Access

The prior research reviewed above, highlights that negotiating access to a social group to which an individual is a stranger involves literacy practices, and Bloome et al. (2005) argue that discourse at the boundary of the social group shapes personhood and the potentialities of the person to act. This approach emphasizes how the interactions of individuals are unpredictable and unlikely to conform to a predetermined notion of behavior.

what people do in interaction with each other is complex, ambiguous and indeterminate and it often involves issues of social identity, power relations, and broad social and cultural processes. (p. xvi)

Jupp, Roberts and Cook-Gumperz (1982) provide an example of this in their study of the impact of the language used in job interview outcomes and observe that:

discrimination has a linguistic dimension, and individuals' interaction can *reinforce* distance, difference and stereotype, or it can *alleviate* these factors. How this works is largely a hidden process.

O'Connor et al. (2016) in their study of how both persons and forms of social organization are constituted through social practice observed the literacy practices of the faculty members in a university engineering department who were exercising their power to decide who counts as an engineer, and to "weed out" students seeking to enter a pathway to an education and career in engineering. This outcome was based on a literary practice in which faculty interpreted a student's raw numeric calculus test scores as a pass or fail grade according to faculty's assessment of the student's attitude.

Further evidence of the link between literacy practices and the identity of students in terms of, for example, motivation has been proposed by Christian and Bloome (2004) who have shown how literacy practices in the classroom shape the participation of students. As a consequence, studies of the literacy practices are able to identify opportunities students are afforded or denied through those practices. In the same vein, Egan-Robertson (1998) drawing on Street (1994), argues that literacy practices are intertwined with personhood.

Personhood is a dynamic, cultural construct about who is and what is considered to be a person, what attributes and rights are constructed to be a person and what social positions are available within the construct of being a person. (p. 453)

In addition to literacy practice as a factor in determining the potentialities afforded by a group to an individual, gender identity has also been identified as a factor that shapes the access of individuals to employment opportunities. Smith (1987), who was one of the early researchers into the challenges women face in gaining access to roles in sociology research, referred to the challenges as “relations of ruling” that existed in a discipline dominated by men. Lakoff (1973) has identified how the use of gendered language may shape outcomes of discourse and, more recently, Gaucher, Friesen, and Kay (2011) have argued that in the context of job advertisements, male gendered language may determine the gender of those who consider themselves suitable for the role and preserve male dominated positions.

Dubois (1903) has argued that the double consciousness of American Blacks causes them to look at themselves through their own unique perspective and also through that of American Whites. The internalization of the anti-Black sentiment amongst White people by the American Black person damages their self-esteem and as a consequence:

the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face. This then is the end of striving to be a co-worker in the kingdom of culture ... to use his best powers and latent genius. (p. 3)

Social status has also been identified as a factor influencing the outcomes of the interactions of individuals from different social groups. Bernstein (1971) argues that the linguistic range of individuals and whether they employ elaborated speech code of the middle class, or the restricted speech code of the working class, will determine their access to learning and development opportunities. Gumperz et al. (1990) provide evidence, based on sociolinguistic theory, of how contextualization clues and subtle differences of language in use (Indian-English versus British-English) between individuals in social contexts, such as job interviews, can shape the outcomes of these. The possibility that such differences may become deficits in some social situations where individuals have not had the opportunity to develop repertoires expected of them, has been identified by Cazden in her interview with Olson (2004) and has been evidenced by Roberts (2013) in her analysis of differential outcomes of interviews for British-born versus non-British-born applicants for unskilled and monotonous jobs. Roberts observed that:

The selection interview requires both bureaucratically processable talk and a vivid social performance, subtly blended together to produce a credible and persuasive self which aligns with the ideal worker in the new capitalist workplace. Small interactional differences and difficulties feed into larger scale judgements and institutional orders which, in turn, press down on individual decision making. (pp. 91-92)

Stephens, Dittman, and Townsend (2015) have also proposed that social class shapes the literacy practices of individuals that in turn shape how they are perceived by others.

They argue that the identity of the middle class has become institutionalized in terms of competence, and that working class individuals who have a different identity are disadvantaged, resulting in their restricted access to opportunities in the middle class professional workplaces. As an example, the authors cite Leonhardt (2011) who observed that those responsible for college and university admissions recognize students for independent research projects or studying abroad but do not recognize the student from a working class background who works at the local store to support his or her family. Another study produced by Moore et al. (2016) for the U.K. government's Social Mobility Commission documented the role of social status in the sales and advisory functions of investment banks, including corporate finance or mergers and acquisitions:

Here a candidate's suitability is assessed by some hiring managers not only in relation to educational background but also to specific behaviors, speech patterns and dress codes, all of which are arguably more available to those who have been socialized within a middle or upper-class environment. Hiring managers consider that these characteristics, summarized as 'polish', reassure clients about their advisors' expertise and experience, and help build trust. (p. iii)

The U.K. study was based on a qualitative research approach in which a range of key stakeholders (including current bankers, retired or ex-bankers, aspirant bankers from non-privileged backgrounds, university careers advisors, recruitment consultants, and representatives of relevant third sector organizations working with the sector) participated in semi-structured interviews.

Together, these studies indicate the role of literacy practices in shaping the outcome of interactions between individuals engaged in recruitment activities and lead to the conclusion that to understand how ACME went about designing an internship and recruiting an intern requires an analysis of the discourse and interactions of those who participated in this activity.

Internship Recruitment Practices

There is a paucity of research on how young people go about identifying and securing an internship. NACE (2017) that regularly surveys students and employers who have recruited interns have observed that the 279 companies (Appendix F) who responded to the survey, most found career job fairs and on-campus recruiting as the most effective technique to recruit interns and, as a consequence, were the most widely used techniques. The survey found that other widely used and highly effective techniques included job listings on career center websites, job listings on corporate websites, on-campus information sessions, and referrals from current/former interns. Alumni referrals and faculty introductions were considered to be only moderately effective. By contrast, the least used and least effective methods were also the most passive: advertising in campus newspapers, general recruitment advertising, and, in particular, online networking (i.e., social media). This data is presented in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5

Percentage of U.S. Respondent Companies Using Differing Techniques to Recruit Interns in 2017 and the Effectiveness of These Techniques

RECRUITMENT TECHNIQUE	% USED		% EFFECTIVE	
	2016	2017	2016	2017
Career/job fairs	97.4%	98.5%	75.9%	80.6%
Job listings: career center websites	95.7%	94.9%	51.8%	55.8%
Referrals from current/former interns	87.8%	92.6%	50.5%	50.8%
Job listings: corporate website	87.8%	92.6%	58.4%	60.3%
On-campus recruiting	86.1%	91.2%	82.2%	85.5%
On-campus information sessions	77.4%	84.6%	59.6%	50.4%
Outreach to student groups	72.2%	77.9%	38.6%	55.7%
Cultivating key faculty	80.9%	77.2%	46.2%	39.0%
Alumni referrals	81.7%	76.5%	28.7%	32.7%
Online networking	52.2%	56.6%	15.0%	13.0%
Recruitment advertising	45.2%	44.1%	25.0%	18.3%
Open houses	28.7%	39.0%	48.5%	32.1%
Advertising in campus newspapers	17.4%	11.0%	20.0%	20.0%

Source: 2017 Internship & Co-op Survey, National Association of Colleges and Employers.

In this analysis, a criterion was defined as “effective” if a respondent who used that criterion considered it either “very effective” (4) or “extremely effective” (5) on a five-point scale.

While this data provides insights on how the 279 respondent companies identified interns, it is representative of a very small percentage of the companies who recruited interns in 2017, and many of these companies are large corporate and public employers, as indicated in Appendix F, and so may not be representative of the majority of companies in the US. While the NACE survey data asks students to indicate using multiple choice answers the ways in which they approached securing an internship, there is no absolute data on the outcomes of these approaches in terms of by which one the surveyed graduates secured an internship, or if one was secured.

Conclusion

The limited scope of data on how students secure internships, how many companies employ interns and how the majority of companies secure interns, leaves invisible the outcomes of these processes. The excerpts taken from postings on websites, published studies and peer reviewed journal articles reviewed above, provide evidence of the multi-layered, complex nature of interactions between those supporting the development of intern positions, internship experiences and those seeking to fill such positions. Differences in what is needed by particular professions and in particular contexts constitute one layer of complexity. Differences related to literacy practices, gender, social status, and ethnicity add another layer of complexity, given their role in influencing opportunities for learning and development that may be made available or denied during interactions between strangers as one offers and another seeks to enter an internship. The evidence provided by these studies of the complexities involved in the formation, development and implementation of internships contribute to the limitations of models based on organizational behavior to

explain what goes on between the participants in recruitment activities and the outcomes of these activities.

The Moore et al. (2016) study identifies the role of “gatekeepers” who, as hiring managers, define the rules and norms which candidates must satisfy in order to enter investment banks. The same study draws upon interviews with others working in the investment banking sector or having experience of it to gain insights from them into the practices of recruitment. In this context, these participants in the study are heard sharing their “inside” knowledge and acting as “cultural guides” to outsiders seeking to understand what potential recruits to investment banks need to know, how they need to behave and speak if they are to gain access to job in investment banking in London. While ethnographers have identified the roles and responsibilities of these “gatekeepers,” “cultural guides,” boundary crossers, and of others, the roles and responsibilities of those who participate in the recruitment of interns has received little attention in studies of intern and broader recruitment activities.

While prior research has focused on identifying beneficial outcomes for the young person who secures an internship, there has been little investigation of the outcomes for the employees of the company that provides the internship beyond the identification of future potential employees who may cost less than a full-time employee. Equally, there has been a paucity of analysis of the pathways to an internship for the intern and the employer. It is on these latter questions that this study will focus.

The conceptual framework I have adopted for this study will be discussed in the following chapter and is based on a social constructionist ontology that individuals’ life worlds are complex, and both shape and are shaped by their interactions with others.

Internships, how they are constructed, the roles of the intern and the outcomes of the internship for not only the intern but others who participate in the design of an internship, identification and selection of the intern, and subsequently interact with the intern, involve literacy practices for which interactional ethnography provides a lens with which to study these socially constructed activities and their consequences.

Chapter III: Ethnography as a Logic of Inquiry and as a Research Methodology

In this chapter, I review the interactional ethnographic approach I used to study the formation and development of an internship opportunity and the recruitment of an intern for that position. The chapter begins with a brief overview of the theories and logic of inquiry guiding the study. I then describe the methods employed and the relationships between the guiding theories and methods for data collection and analysis.

Ethnography as the Epistemological Approach

Interactional ethnography, the philosophy of inquiry guiding my research, is rooted in the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, and linguistics (Baker, Green, & Skukauskaite, 2008). Their research and analysis of classroom-based discourse contributes to understanding of “culture in the making” (Putney, 2000; Heath, 1982). The interactional ethnographer documents the words, developing meanings, and (inter)actions among individuals within social groups and analyze these processes and practices. This analysis yields empirical evidence of the norms and expectations, rights and obligations, roles and relationships and ways of thinking, knowing and being that these participants in the developing social events propose, recognize, acknowledge and interactionally accomplish as a socially significant across time and events within the social group (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993; Bloome et al., 2005). The ethnographer seeks to uncover how particular configurations of actors engaged in particular developing events at particular points in time (Mitchell, 1984) in order to construct a warranted account of how, over time, the actions and discourse of the members of a social group within a given social context are shaped by, and

shape, (Fairclough, 1992) who can do and say what, to whom, when, under what conditions, and with what consequences (Heap, 1995).

In this study, research artifacts (records) that include documentation of actions, transcripts from records of the email-based discourse among members of the social group and with others, and intertextual references uncovered through analysis of the records, generate empirical evidence to support warranted accounts (e.g., Green, Chian, Stewart & Couch, 2018). These artifacts and reconstructed records constitute “bits of life” (Hymes, 1977), or “slices of life” (Heath and Street, 2008), and form the basis for developing a “telling case” (Mitchell, 1983,1984) of the complex and intentional processes that constitute the negotiation of an internship position in ACME. Drawing on Gluckman (1961), Mitchell identifies three types of “case studies.” First, there is the “apt illustration” that the researcher presents based on events selected from a general account of their observations with the goal of presenting the most typical case possible. Second, there are case studies that are based on a connected set of events in a particular social situation in which it is the connections between these situated events that are the focus of analysis rather than events themselves. Such case studies are usually bounded by the social situation and a restricted set of events. Finally, there are extended cases in which the researcher’s account extends across time and different contexts that are presented as part of continuum of social interactions that are anchored within a particular social system. It is this that constitutes a “telling case” that makes visible all of the complex interactions that were observed and recorded in order that theories of the relationships between the participants who engaged in the design of an internship and recruitment of an intern, that would otherwise have remained invisible, can be

constructed, and that others can analyze the same data and deepen the analysis of it or challenge its interpretation.

An important element in the researcher's approach to the construction of a warrantable account is the use of triangulation. Sevigny (1981) argues that the challenge of achieving objectivity and widening generalizability can be addressed by employing triangulation, an approach that was initially proposed by Campbell and Fiske (1956), and designed to measure a single concept using multiple data collection technologies. Berg (2009), in his graphical depiction of triangulation, shows how Denzin (1978) amplified this approach to triangulation by adding multiple theories, multiple researchers, and multiple methodologies. Spradley (1979) argues that by building a comprehensive archive record, these multiple approaches can serve to provide a resource from which a deeper understanding of the phenomenon being studied can be obtained. In a similar vein, Geertz (1973) calls for a "thick description" that requires the ethnographer to go beyond the mere recording of observations to uncover and interpret patterns in those observations from which meaning can be made. The triangulation of multiple sources of data provided the basis of developing "thick descriptions" of these bits/slices of life leading to the designing, awarding and acceptance of an internship, as well as the processes of entering the ACME organization that are the focus of this study. The multiple forms of data (Atkinson et al., 2001) lay a foundation for constructing warranted accounts of what transpired within interactional exchanges between groups, as well as within the group and for its members.

Walford (2008) calls for the researcher to become immersed in their research site as learners. Furthermore, Walford commends the researcher to be open-minded and prepared to question their own theories and be open to questioning by others. In order for others to

evaluate the claims by the researcher, the empirical evidence on which those claims are based should be made available. To the extent that such empirical evidence is based on participant accounts ensures that the data collected is grounded in participants' experiences and not based on a researcher-centric perspective. In this way, researchers contribute to the construction of knowledge through a social process (Kratwohl, 2009).

Interactional Ethnography and the Study of an Internship in the Making

Interactional ethnography has been used to study culture in the making within school-based classroom settings (Castanheira et al., 2000; Kalainoff, 2013; Yeager, 2003).

Ethnographic studies also have been situated in a wide range of non-classroom settings that have included the homeless (Snow and Anderson, 1987), surgeons in hospital (Cassell, 1998), air traffic controllers (Gelb, 1978), a drug rehabilitation clinic (Spradley, 1979), a board of directors of a hospital (Hoffman, 1980), hospital settings (Atkinson, 1995), an opera company (Atkinson, 2006), and waitresses in a cocktail bar (Spradley, 1979) among other social spaces.

This study builds on this prior work by extending the use of interactional ethnography as epistemology to the study of employees in a company as a social group, and to examine the interactions between employees of the company and members of other social groups (local universities and other companies) who interacted with particular members of the company (e.g., the CEO), as the company went about its efforts to create a workplace-based learning opportunity (i.e., an internship) and engaged in efforts to recruit a college student to fill a new position within the company. This ethnographic approach to tracing how the employees of the company (ACME) engaged in this process as a social group offers insights

into how situated understandings of what counts as an internship and who may be considered for an internship are constructed by the employees through engagement with members of other social groups with whom they interacted across time.

This study began with an initial set of questions that, through the iterative, abductive, and recursive process of data gathering and analysis (Gee and Green, 1998), were reframed progressively in an effort to develop insights into the phenomenon from a grounded view of social life that focuses on exploring this view from the perspective of the individuals within the social group.

The Chain of Questions Identified

The overarching goal for the study was proposed to initiate and process of examining *what supported and constrained the recruitment of a graduate student for an internship*.

This overarching goal led to the construction of a series of research questions:

- How was the internship formed and developed across time and events in order to identify and recruit a college student for that position?
- Who were the actors, and with whom did they interact as they went about designing an internship, recruiting an intern or finding an internship opportunity?
- How and in what ways did the actions of individuals shape the design of the opportunity and impact on who had access to the opportunity?

Design of the Study of the Formation of an Internship and Recruitment of an Intern

To address the research questions above, the design of this study was shaped by particular units of analysis constructed to explore each of the questions above (Heath, 1982). In this study, these units were included *participants* who were observed across times and events as the process of recruiting the intern progressed, the *sites* and the *boundaries* of these

sites where this study was conducted (the business site and the university sites), and the 13-week *time period* during which a successful process of recruiting an intern was concluded. The design of the ethnographic analyzes, therefore, can be viewed as evolving across time as and each iteration (n=3) developed through a recursive process in which, as analysis progressed and connections between and among units of analysis were uncovered, further questions emerged that required reformulation of the design of the study.

My initial analysis indicated that the recruiting process was successful in terms of an intern being appointed. However, subsequent analysis indicated that this success followed two prior intern recruitment activities by ACME that ended in failure. Each of these iterations formed a bounded “bit of life” analysis of which involved a common data collection process guided by an interactional ethnographic logic-of-inquiry. In taking this approach, I make transparent the developing *logic-in-use* (Green & Bridges, in press) undertaken for each iteration. Once each iteration was constructed, as Mitchell (1984) argues, it was possible to engage in a process of tracing the key participants (the CEO) across each iteration to make theoretical inferences from the grounded accounts constructed through the local and situated logic-in-use.

Participants

Participants in this study were identified from the transcribed records of emails (as senders or recipients) and from headnotes, and are identified in Table 3.1. These records indicate that 48 participants were involved at some point during the three attempts (iterations) by ACME to recruit an intern. The 48 participants were identified as being members of or having connections with ACME, NBU, SBU, and SBC. Participants included the CEO and Head of Product Development (HPD) at ACME; five faculty members from

two universities near ACME; and 36 potential candidates, the majority of whom were from those two universities.

Table 3.1

Participants in the Design of an Internship and Recruitment of an Intern

ACME	NBU	SBC	SBU
CEO	Head of Department (HD)	Operations Manager (OM)	2 Alumni
HPD	Graduate Student (GS)	7 Potential Candidates	28 Applicants
Research Scientist (RS)			4 Faculty Members
HR Manager (HR)			

The Research Site

This research study centered on the effort of ACME to recruit an intern. ACME, a technology start-up in Northern California, employs 15 people, predominantly male scientists and engineers with an average age of 48.

The Boundaries of the Research Site

This site for this study was located within and *at* the boundaries of multiple social groups, i.e., ACME and its members as they engaged across time with members of other social groups in different settings that included two local universities (NBU and SBU) and a local company (SBC). The research site was not bounded by physical walls or defined as a physical space, but by the social interactions and social contexts in which these interactions between participants took place. Analysis shows that much of the discourse between the participants was based around emails and there was limited face-to-face interaction or direct conversations between them. Thus, the activities took place both within and outside the

physical boundaries of the ACME company, and extended to the relational boundary of ACME employees with outsiders to the company, some of whom were physically located abroad (India and Morocco) when they entered the discourse by email and, in doing so, became a participant in this activity to identify and recruit an intern for ACME.

Time Frames of the Study

The time boundaries of this study were initially defined as the period from March 4, 2015, when the search for an intern was initiated by the CEO, until that search was resolved positively on May 24, 2015. However, as anticipated by Green et al. (2017), this ethnographic space was not static but evolved across time. As I collected and examined artifacts from this period, I realized that I needed to re-enter the field and extend my collection of artifacts in order to analyze the actions and discourse that preceded the initiation of the recruitment of an intern. This process led to the inclusion of 1) the actions and discourse of participants who engaged in the design of the internship (e.g., the CEO and HPD ACME), and 2) the actions and discourse of individuals who shaped the recruitment activities but were not directly involved in the design of an internship or the recruitment of an intern (e.g., OM SBC and SBU Applicant 11). By tracing interactions relevant to the study, I learned that it was necessary to extend both the number of participants in this study, and its time frame, with earliest record dating from September 2014. The extension of my analysis is reflected in Figure 3.1 that incorporates into the timeline of the study the additional actions and discursive events preceding each set of dialogues as identified above.

	March 2, 2015			
Prior Discourse and Actions	Pre-Recruitment Defining a Business Need and Solution; to Recruit an Intern			
		First Recruitment Attempt		
March 2, 2015		March 4, 2015	April 23, 2015	May 21, 2015
Prior Discourse and Actions	Design of Internship	Recruitment Initiated	Recruitment Resolved (Failed)	Identification of Potential Candidates Terminated
			Second Recruitment Attempt	
			April 23, 2015	April 27, 2015
Prior Discourse and Actions			Recruitment Initiated	(Re)design of Internship Recruitment Resolved (Failed)
			Third Recruitment Attempt	
			April 24, 2015	May 24, 2015
Prior Discourse and Actions			(Re)design of Internship	Recruitment Initiated Recruitment Resolved (Successful)

Figure 3.1. *Timelines of Actions and Discourse Shaping the Recruitment of a Graduate Intern*

Three Recruitment Attempts: Constructing The Phases Of Analysis

My initial analysis of the records identified a timeline for the recruitment by ACME of 13 weeks from the date when I identified that ACME's management took the decision to recruit an intern to the day when a candidate accepted the offer of an internship with ACME. From this point, I engaged in an iterative process of data collection, which I will discuss in greater detail below, and analysis of the data. During this process, my analysis prompted further questions as to what had happened and required that I revisit the site to identify additional data for analysis.

In this iterative process, my analysis of the transcribed records of actions and discourse of the CEO, who was present throughout the recruitment process and who, therefore, could be used as a tracer unit, revealed that the successful recruitment of an intern came about after two prior attempts that were not resolved successfully. Thus, while analysis of the data initially indicated a successful resolution of an effort to recruit an intern had taken 13 weeks, this effort was preceded by two attempts that were resolved unsuccessfully. The eventual recruitment of an intern by ACME, after these two failed attempts, suggested the need to study the three attempts as a "telling case" and to compare and contrast the actions and discourse that shaped, and were shaped by, the outcomes of these three attempts by ACME's CEO and his team to recruit an intern across time and different social contexts. Having identified in the records that there had been three attempts to recruit an intern, I analyzed each of these separately using the same phased approach, details of which are provided in Table 3.1, and which I will summarize briefly here before proceeding to present my data collection methods.

Phase 1: Constructing an Archive

Initially, I searched the CEO/tracer unit's email archive using the search words "intern" and "internship" to identify all email correspondence containing these terms which I placed in an archive. From the headers of these emails, I was able to identify the sender and recipients and this enabled me to extract the identities (names and affiliations) of these individuals with whom the CEO had engaged in a dialogue that included use of these terms. Using these identities, I was able to (re)enter the email records of the CEO and search against these identities to identify further emails that were added to the archive. This served to identify discourse between participants (e.g., the CEO and HD NBU and between OM SBC and potential candidates) that pre-dated the decision by ACME to recruit an intern.

Phase 2: Organizing an Archive

Initially, I placed the emails into the archive in chronological order. However, during this phase, I learned that this required me to break up chains of emails that represented discourse across time between individuals. Consequently, I placed the transcribed emails into the archive in the chronological order in which email chains were initiated in order to preserve their integrity.

Phase 3: (Re)Constructing an Archive

My analysis of the electronic files of the CEO of ACME identified a number of electronic documents (e.g., job descriptions, ACME board papers, resumes from applicants, HR policies) that were transferred to the archive for subsequent analysis. While conducting this collection of records, I discovered that for the applicants in the third recruitment attempt there was a significant number of resumes missing from the CEO's electronic files compared

to the number of email applications received by the CEO during this attempt. I, therefore, reentered the archive, and by comparing the name of the sender on the email they had sent to the CEO with the names inscribed on the resumes, I identified a number of resumes that were missing from the CEO's electronic files. This suggested that they had not been downloaded, read, and archived at the time of their receipt during the third recruitment attempt. I then downloaded these from the emails to which they were attached and placed them in a separate archive for subsequent analysis as to why these resumes had not apparently been considered by the CEO during the recruitment process. In addition, I added to the archive the field notes of the CEO's recall of events and decisions he had made relating to the recruitment of an intern by ACME.

Phase 4: Constructing Timelines

In the next phase of my analysis, I constructed from the transcribed records in the archive the timelines of the three recruitment attempts. These are presented in figures 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4. These multiple timelines provide the framework for my analysis of events across the 13 weeks during which time ACME sought to recruit an intern and of events that preceded this activity. The juxtaposition of the timelines of the three recruitment attempts makes visible that the design of an internship and recruitment of an intern was complex: It consisted of a series of multi-layered, overlapping dialogues and actions that were non-linear and sequenced differentially over differing spans of time.

Prior Period	March	2	4	5	April	2	5	10	13	15	22	23	May	21
	2015					2015							2015	
		Designing an internship	Recruiting an intern recruiter	Identifying and selecting a candidate		Validating the selection of a candidate			Designing an internship offer	Resolving a recruitment attempt			Identifying a candidate	

Figure 3.2. Timelines and Phases of the Developing Internship: The First Recruitment Attempt

Prior Period	April	23	24	26	27
	2015				
		Recruiting an intern recruiter		(Re)designing an internship	Resolving a recruitment attempt
		Identifying a candidate			

Figure 3.3. Timelines and Phases of a Developing Internship: The Second Recruitment Attempt

Prior Period	April	24	27	May	8	21	24	29
	2015			2015				
		(Re)Designing an internship	Receiving applications for an internship					
		Recruiting intern recruiters						
					Selecting a candidate	Resolving a recruitment attempt		

Figure 3.4. Timelines and Phases of a Developing Internship: The Third Recruitment Attempt

Logic-In-Use

In this section I will present the analytical approaches that I took to examine the artifacts (records) in the archive by engaging in semantic and contrastive analyzes to uncover the intertextually tied (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993; Fairclough, 1992) chains of activities, events and interactions that occurred during the attempts by ACME to recruit an intern. Table 3.2 presents the logic-in-use to identify the relationship between theories and methods used in this research study, and lays out the theory underlying my research approach and how this evolved across time.

Table 3.2

Logic In Use

Theory	Method (Initial)	Method (Intermediate)	Method (Advanced)	Results Informed by Data
Changing practices of language-in-use shape social practice and social practice shapes language-in-use, (Fairclough, 1992)	Creating transcripts of emails and chronology of actions and discourse (who said what to whom and when)	Tracing back before the search for an intern was initiated to identify prior relationships between the participants and the roots and routes of those relationships		The conditions under which access to a social group is negotiated and granted (or not)
	Placing artifacts (resumes, internship descriptions) into the archive in the chronological order in which they were received	Reorganizing the archive into three sub-archives to reflect emerging understanding of the non-linearity of the recruitment attempt that was comprised of three attempts	Identifying the participants in each attempt and a tracer unit present across all three attempts	Identifying the roles of participants in given social contexts
	Preparing for intertextual analysis by (re)ordering the archive to preserve chains of reconstructed emails between participants in the order in which that email based discourse was initiated	Examining how discourse through emails (such as the internship role description) was reformulated across time according to the social context into which they were placed	Examining how the status of artifacts (read/unread resumes) was shaped by and shaped discursive actions of the participants	Who may have access to a social group and under what conditions
	Identifying a “rich point” with which to anchor analysis of a “culture in the making” - the roots and pathways to the design of an internship and the recruitment of an intern	Semantic analysis (Spradley) Identifying how “meaning in the making” is reflected in the discourse of participants across time	Semantic analysis (Spradley)	

Theory	Method (Initial)	Method (Intermediate)	Method (Advanced)	Results Informed by Data
Individuals maintain and create identities and new social relationships through discourse, the language in use and differing interpretive practices. (Gumperz)	Identifying timelines of events in each recruitment attempt based on the discourse and interaction of participants across time	Identifying the participants in each recruitment attempt	Analyzing the discourse within each recruitment attempt to identify who said what to whom and when with what outcomes	What is understood in discourse in different social contexts shapes outcomes and outcomes shape discourse

Data Collection

In this section I present the steps I took to collect the data which formed the basis of this study. Because this study was being undertaken some months after the events that had occurred rather than “in the moment,” my first task was to identify the multiple sources of historic data that would represent those events in order to be able to (re)construct as complete a picture as possible that could be examined from multiple angles. As researcher-CEO/CEO-researcher, I was aware that much of the discourse that had taken place between participants had been by email and that the CEO had filed this discourse within ACME’s email system. My unfettered access to the CEO’s email system enabled me to search it using words such as “intern” and “internship” to begin the process of data collection. All emails contained the name and email address of the sender, addressees, date and local time that the email was sent and, sometimes, a subject line. All of this information was placed into the archive for subsequent analysis.

Archive of Records

The construction of an archive was an iterative process and required me to reenter the field to identify and collect further data to support my analysis. When I had initially entered the field as CEO-researcher, I did not know what records were there to be uncovered, what I would uncover, or the further questions that would be prompted by my initial (re)ordering and analysis of the records. Thus, for example, in my initial analysis, I uncovered from within the transcribed emails references to telephone conversations that had formed part of the discourse between the participants, and consequently I sought records of these conversations and placed them in the archive.

Adopting an “*Emic*” Position

At the time of the design of the internship and attempts to recruit an intern, I had not envisioned myself as a CEO/researcher-researcher/CEO. In conducting this study, I stepped back from my role as a CEO into the role of researcher and approached it as if a stranger without prior knowledge of the site and the participants. This approach is captured in the following perspective on the goals of ethnography framed by Heath and Street (2007):

- Suspending known categories to construct understandings of local and situated categories and referential meanings of actions being developed by participants;
- Acknowledging differences between what they as ethnographers know and what the actor(s) in the context know;
- Constructing new ways of knowing that are grounded in local and situated ways of knowing, being and doing the processes and practices of everyday life within a social group or configuration of actors;
- Developing ways of representing what is known by local actors and what the ethnographers learn from the analysis at different levels of analytic scale.

This perspective is applied here to a corporate setting and defines the principles of conduct and orients my approach to this study in which I seek to gain an *emic* (insider) understandings of what constitutes *participants’ (insider) knowledge*. Applying these principles requires the researcher to step back from the *etic* position of what they know as an outsider and seek the *emic* position of the insider (Green & Bridges, 2018).

Selecting the Site for Study: ACME

The selection of ACME and past events as the site for my research study, as indicated previously, presented challenges as I, as CEO of ACME, did not embark on the workplace-based learning initiative with a study in ACME in mind. Rather, I had engaged in a pre-site selection process by seeking entry to Central Coast Company. However, by mutual agreement, entry into this site and access to the full-range of participants was not possible. Therefore, in consultation with my advisor, an interactional ethnographer (Judith Green), I elected to shift the focus from tracing students in situ to one of focusing on the construction of a workplace based learning opportunity, the recruiting process for that opportunity and its impact on particular participants. This decision led me to decide on the ACME site, the (re)formulation of the questions that were stated previously (p. 70), the development of a research archive, and to step back from the known, as indicated above.

Therefore, the need to collect and archive multiple records and artifacts, including field notes was (re)formulated, leading to the development of an archive based on records available through ACME's emails and records. Because, as CEO of ACME, I had played a central role in the design of the internship and the recruitment of an intern, my search for data began with identifying and aggregating email records of the CEO that related to the recruitment of an intern. These emails were located on the ACME email server (Google mail) in a file, HR/Interns, and the attachments to these that had been downloaded were stored in my personal files held on ACME's cloud-based storage server provided by Dropbox Inc.

The history of the recruitment process and roles and interactions among different configurations of actors was recreated through workplace emails that had been archived as it is my professional practice not to delete workplace emails. This process led to the

development of transcribed corpus of emails collected from ACME's email server with their attachments and provided a nearly complete record of the email-based dialogues in which the CEO was engaged either directly or indirectly before and during the design of an internship and recruitment of an intern. Many emails were in the form of chains of emails based on references in the written discourse that signaled the source of the interactions of the CEO and the other participants across each of the three recruitment attempts.

The data collected to support the construction of an account of the interactions of 48 individuals who engaged in the design of the internship and recruitment of a graduate for that position is shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3

Summary of Research Data and Method of Analysis

Type of Data	Amount of Data	Analysis of Data		
		First Recruitment Attempt	Second Recruitment Attempt	Third Recruitment Attempt
Emails	125	Identified participants and the social groups to which they belong in attempts to recruit an intern and identified emails (sent/received) from these participants		
		Identified opened/unopened emails		
		Transcribed emails into the archive. Ordered emails in the chronological order they were sent		
		Reordered emails to preserve chains of email based dialogue		
		Divided reconstructed emails into three archives relating to three recruitment attempts		
		Identified a “rich point” as an anchor form this study		
		Traced back and forward from the “rich point” the actions and discourse which led up to and followed this event		
		Analyzed email subject line “headers” and calculated frequency of terms used		
		Analyzed email based discourse between the actors prior to the initiation of a search for an intern	Analyzed email based discourse between the actors prior to the initiation of a search for an intern	Analyzed reconstructed emails for evidence to identify causes of timing of applicants’ responses. Analyzed “date sent” on emails
			Analyzed and compared responses of different actors to the same email based inquiry	
		Compared versions of intern job descriptions inscribed by different actors	Compared versions of intern job description inscribed for first recruitment attempt with that for second recruitment attempt	Analyzed email responses for intertextuality and references to dialogues with others (faculty members)
			Analyzed for emails links to potential candidates	Compared versions of intern job description inscribed for second recruitment attempt with that for third recruitment attempt

		First Recruitment Attempt	Second Recruitment Attempt	Third Recruitment Attempt
		Conducted semantic analysis of each email in the archive to identify constructed meanings (X is a kind of Y)		
		Identified roles of participants across time, social context and activity		
		Identified relationships within and between social groups and how these change and are shaped by discursive activities across the boundaries of those social groups		
Artifacts	34 resumes (total)	1 resume	4 resumes	29 resumes
		Downloaded and archived	Downloaded and archived	
			Analyzed (compared and contrasted) two resumes for the same applicant	
			Analyzed two resumes from ex-university students provided by participant	
	1 letter of interest	Analyzed subject header of emails		

		First Recruitment Attempt	Second Recruitment Attempt	Third Recruitment Attempt
	1 ACME board paper	Analyzed for intertextual references		
	1 ACME HR manual	Analyzed for intertextual references		
	CEO's professional and personal electronic calendar entries for March to May 2015	Analyzed to identify dates and locations of ACME management and board meetings, telephone calls and to triangulate with other records		
	Technical documentation	Analyzed to identify sender/recipient and date/time sent		Analyzed to identify sender/recipient and date/time sent
	Embedded email addresses		Recorded in the archive	
			Identified within reconstructed emails as links to potential candidates	
CEO Headnotes	8 telephone calls	Analyzed who initiated call		Analyzed who initiated call
	7 face-to-face meetings	Analyzed who participated (cross reference with CEO Calendar)		Analyzed who participated (cross reference with CEO Calendar)
		Management and board meetings within ACME to discuss internship, progress on recruiting candidates and candidate selection		
International Clock			Analyzed in order to translate date stamp on email to Pacific Time	Analyzed in order to translate date stamp on an email to Pacific Time

Emails and Relationships Identified

By examining the CEO's email records, I was able to locate the following email-based dialogues between:

- The CEO and ACME staff
- The CEO and ACME board members
- The CEO and applicants/candidates
- The CEO and others outside ACME. These included emails that were dated *before* the recruitment process was initiated and which, were unrelated to the recruitment of an intern
- The CEO and others who were introduced into the dialogue with the CEO by others outside ACME during the recruitment process and with whom the CEO did not enter into discourse directly. Examples of these types of dialogue are emails between those participants with whom the CEO engaged directly in discourse (e.g., OM SBC) and graduate students (e.g., PIC 4) that were made available by the participant to the CEO.

The transcripts of these emails revealed a complex web of dialogues and interactions. They served as the basis of my analysis through which the date and time that an email was sent, as well as the contents of the subject line, could be identified and would provide evidence of who said what to whom, *when* and with what outcomes. This process enabled me to identify chains of intertextually tied emails, thus creating bounded interactional events.

Artifacts

In addition to the transcribed emails, I identified a number of classes of artifacts that I incorporated into the archive. Some of these were identified by my analysis of the reconstructed emails to which these artifacts, in the form of resumes and other documents (e.g., technical documentation), were attached or referenced. Others artifacts were identified because, as CEO, I had prior knowledge that these artifacts (e.g., board papers or HR policy manuals) existed and were pertinent to this study.

Resumes. Within the CEO's Dropbox-based filing system, I identified a corpus of resumes in a folder labelled "Intern Resumes 2015." In verifying that there was a copy of a resume for each applicant, I discovered that there were several missing so I returned to the archive of transcribed emails from applicants and downloaded the missing resumes. I placed these in a sub archive for subsequent analysis and listed the applicants whose resumes had been missing from the CEO's folder of archived intern resumes.

Letter of Interest. The receipt of a letter of interest from only one applicant led to an analysis of the genesis of the letter and what followed.

Technical Documentation of ACME Technology. Analysis of the reconstructed emails between the head of product development at ACME and potential interns during the first and third recruitment attempts, indicated that information about ACME's technology (i.e., PowerPoint presentations, scientific journal articles and a link to a video on YouTube) was sent to candidates as attachments to emails to inform them about ACME's technology *before* their interviews with him.

ACME Board Paper. Examination of ACME's archives revealed the existence of a memorandum sent by the CEO to the board of ACME that contained an explanation for the roots and routes to the decision by the management to seek to recruit an intern.

ACME HR Manual. An examination of ACME's archives revealed the existence of an HR manual (confidential) in which many of the rules and procedures of ACME were formally specified. The manual became a reference for determining the existence (or not) of formal rules and procedures relating to the recruitment of new employees (including interns) and the authority and obligations of the CEO and others in this matter.

Calendars. The CEO's professional and personal electronic calendar inscriptions for the period before the recruitment of an intern was initiated from March 2015 to May 2015. This provided documentation of the timing of events such as meetings with individuals with whom he had a professional relationship prior to the effort to recruit an intern, ACME management, board meetings and telephone calls with candidates in the third recruitment attempt.

International Clock. Recourse to this resource was made during my research to translate the time of emails received from India and Morocco to Pacific Time in order that it could be placed into the archive in chronological order.

Embedded Email Links. My detailed analysis of the reconstructed emails identified artifacts that included the email addresses of potential candidates that had been embedded by participants in their email based discourse with others and thus were introduced by those participants into the discourse and recruitment activity for an intern.

Headnotes. Because the design and execution of this study took place sometime after the design of the internship and recruitment of an intern had occurred, I needed to rely on my memory as researcher/CEO to connect or locate events or explain decisions made by the CEO during the course of the design of an internship and recruitment of an intern for that position and for which there was no contemporaneous inscribed records. Examples of the use of headnotes in this study for these purposes are provided in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4

Examples of the Use of Headnotes to Connect Events or to Explain Decisions

Event	Headnote	Corroboration	Providing Evidence of
CEO receiving an email	Email prompted by a telephone call from CEO	Reference in received email to telephone call from CEO	Intertextuality
CEO (re)designing internship description	Offers explanation for the (re)design	(Re)Designed internship descriptions	Implicated listener
CEO receiving a call from an applicant	CEO answered questions about the internship role	Internship application included a Letter of Interest which reflected telephone based discourse between CEO and applicant	Intertextuality
Resumes missing from Dropbox folder	Applicants not considered	Resumes not forwarded to HPD ACME	Agency
Final selection of candidate	Selection criteria not previously declared in the records of discourse and artifacts	Final selection choice	Intertextuality

Data Analysis: Methods for Recreating the Roots and Routes to Designing an Internship Opportunity and Identifying an Intern

Having assembled a corpus of data (reconstructed emails, artifacts and headnotes), the next step in my study was to analyze from multiple angles and triangulate the multiple forms of information. Triangulation of multiple forms of data permitted the corroboration of my analysis by connecting and cross-referencing inscriptions contained in emails, texts from documents and headnotes. The selection of the CEO of ACME as a tracer unit supported the identification of the participants involved in the recruitment of an intern, their multiple roles,

and multiple activities in multiple social contexts. It also supported the identification of the potential interns who were identified in the recruitment activity.

Examination of the discursive actions between the participants across time led to the identification of three attempts to recruit an intern, the first two of which were not successful. Through a process of engaging in analysis of the three attempts, I was able to identify the chains of activity within each attempt and the overlapping timeframes of these as depicted above in Figure 3.1. Further analysis of the chains of activity represented in the form of event maps (Green and Walle, 1979; Green & Meyer, 1991; Kelly, Crawford & Green, 2001) offered additional insights into the social construction of the opportunity. Figure 3.2 above is an example of such an event map and was constructed from the data of the first recruitment attempt that will be analyzed in detail in Chapter IV. As shown in the Figure 3.2, the first recruitment attempt was comprised of multiple activities which are inscribed into Row 3 of Figure 3.2 against the inscribed date on which they were recorded to have occurred. In order to understand how participants within these events were socially constructing and representing the internship opportunity, I then undertook an analysis of each these activities that included an analysis of the verbal and textual interactions between participants across these events.

The Development of Scripts of Textual and Intertextual Analysis

In this section, I foreground the analysis presented in subsequent chapters in order to provide an overview of the ways in which I used multiple forms of analysis—semantic, contrastive and domain analysis (Spradley, 1980)—to analyze the artifacts that represented the chain of activities and interactions of the participants in this study. Initially, because the majority of artifacts were in the form of emails between the participants, I converted the

email records into a transcript that I placed in the archive with other artifacts, Table 3.5 offers a sample of the transcript to be found in Appendices A, B and C. Each line of transcribed text was given a number.

Table 3.5

Format for the Transcription of Emails

Line Number	Email content
1	From:
2	To:
3	CC:
4	Date: (Day/Date/Time)
5	Subject:
6	First sentence of email
7	Second sentence of email
....	Last line of email
.....	Attachments

1. I then used the data of *day*, *date* and *time* extracted from the email transcripts (Line 4) to place the transcribed emails into the archive in chronological order. However, because this approach required me to break up chains of transcribed email based conversations, I reordered the archive of transcribed emails based on the chronological order in which email-based dialogues had been initiated. This served to preserve the integrity of those dialogues that would provide for subsequent analysis of intertextuality.

2. The next phase of my analysis was to identify the participants in the attempts to recruit an intern. In order to do this, I analyzed the corpus of texts of the transcribed emails to identify the moment when the resolution (the rejection of the offer of an internship, the self-selection of a candidate, or acceptance of an offer of an internship) of each of the three attempts to recruit an intern had occurred. This permitted an identification of those individuals who were engaging in that discourse at that moment of resolution (Lines 1-3, Table 3.5). By using

the CEO as my tracer unit, I traced back through the CEO's transcribed emails from the moment in which each recruitment attempt was resolved to identify the other individuals who had participated in the discourse with the CEO during each recruitment attempt.

3. Once the corpus of archived transcribed emails had been sub-divided and ordered, I re(entered) the archive to analyze the attachments to these. Analysis uncovered that of the 29 applicants in the third recruitment attempt, 11 resumes had been downloaded and filed by the CEO in his Dropbox document archive and 18 had not. This suggested that the senders of these 18 emails had not been considered for the internship during the third recruitment attempt, an observation that might inform the answers to the questions posed by this study. I opened the resumes that had not been stored in Dropbox by the CEO at the time that ACME was seeking to recruit an intern and analyzed them for inscriptions that might distinguish them from those that had been filed during this recruitment attempt. In order to do this, I first extracted from the resumes the identity of the student applicants to which I gave each one an identifier (e.g., AP 3, AP 4, etc.), the time and date of their application to which the resume had been attached, the students' education statuses, the faculty member cited in their email application to the CEO, and tabulated this information as indicated in Table 3.6. This enabled me to triangulate these different data sets to uncover patterns of activity and discourse across the third recruitment attempt that will be analyzed further in Chapter VI when I will present the results of my analysis that was undertaken by triangulating these events with an intertextual analysis of the dialogue between the CEO and faculty members at SBU.

Table 3.6

Applicants, Faculty Member Cited, Degree Subject and Status and Timing of Internship Applications

Identity	Faculty Member Cited	Degree Subject and Status	Time & Date of Application
AP 3	No citation	CE (G)	12:37 p.m., April 27, 2015
AP 4	No citation	CE (G)	3:33 p.m., April 27, 2015
AP 5	No citation	CE (G)	3:55 p.m., April 27, 2015
AP 6	FA SBU	CE (G)	4:24 p.m., April 27, 2015
AP 7	No citation	CE (G)	5:30 p.m., April 27, 2015
AP 8	FA SBU	CE (G)	11:36 p.m., April 27, 2015
AP 9	FA SBU	CE (G)	11:05 a.m., April 28, 2015
AP 10	No citation	CE (G)	4:47 p.m., April 28, 2015
AP 11	No citation	MSE (G)	10:05 a.m., April 29, 2015
AP 12	FA SBU	CE (G)	12:02 p.m., April 29, 2015
AP 13	No citation	ME (G)	10:46 p.m., May 1, 2015
AP 14	No citation	BME (U)	2:23 p.m., May 19, 2015
AP 15	FP2 SBU	CE (U)	2:48 p.m., May 19, 2015
AP 16	FP2 SBU	CE (U)	2:50 p.m., May 19, 2015
AP 17	FP2 SBU	CE (U)	3:05 p.m., May 19, 2015
AP 18	FP2 SBU	CE (U)	3:11 p.m., May 19, 2015
AP 19	FP2 SBU	ME (U)	3:22 p.m., May 19, 2015
AP 20	No citation	BME (U)	5:10 p.m., May 19, 2015
AP 21	No citation	CE (U)	5:34 p.m., May 19, 2015
AP 22	No citation	BME (U)	9:21 p.m., May 19, 2015
AP 23	No citation	CE (U)	12:55 a.m., May 20, 2015
AP 24	No citation	CE (U)	8:32 a.m., May 20, 2015
AP 25	FP2 SBU	CE(U)	10:31a.m., May 20, 2015
AP 26	FP2 SBU	CE (U)	11:29 a.m., May 20, 2015
AP 6 (Repeat)	No citation	CE (G)	4:01 p.m., May 20, 2015
AP 27	No citation	BME (U)	4:49 p.m., May 20, 2015
AP 28	FP2 SBU	CE (U)	9:57 a.m., May 22, 2015
AP 29	FP2 SBU	CE (U)	7:13 p.m., May 22, 2015
AP 30	No citation	CE (G)	11:49 a.m., May 27, 2015

Note. CE=Chemical Engineering; BME=Biomedical Engineering; ME=Mechanical Engineering; MSE=Materials and Systems Engineering; BS=Bachelor of Science; G=Graduate; U=Undergraduate.

4. My analysis of the attachments to the emails submitted by applicants in the third recruitment attempt also revealed that one of the 29 applicants (including a duplicated application) attached a Letter of Interest to their email to the CEO. In order to understand this, I triangulated this data with data from the CEO's headnotes to uncover the roots of this dialogue that will be analyzed in Chapter VI.

5. The next step in my analysis was to extract from the transcribed emails the sender (Line 1) and recipients (Lines 2 and 3) and to plot the originator of the email (Line 1) and the recipient (Line 2) to make visible who engaged in discourse with whom, in what way, and with what frequency across the time of the recruitment attempt. Table 3.7 is an example of this analysis drawn from Chapter IV that will analyze the first recruitment attempt.

Table 3.7

A Sample of Analysis of the Nature and Context of Discourse During the First Recruitment Process

		Originator				
		CEO	HD NBU	HPD ACME	GS NBU	Board of ACME
69	Primary Recipient					
	CEO	-	1 face-to-face meeting at NBU with GS NBU 10 emails	-	2 emails	-
	HD NBU	2 phone calls (of which one voice message) 8 emails	-	-	-	-
	HPD ACME	2 face to face meetings in ACME 1 email	-	-	1 email	-
	GS NBU	1 phone call (voice message) 3 emails	1 face-to-face meeting at NBU with JS	2 face-to-face meetings at ACME 4 emails	-	-
	Board of ACME	1 board paper	-	-	-	-

6. The next step in my analysis was to (re)enter the archive and extract from the transcribed emails the term placed by there by the “Sender” in the subject line of the email. These terms, the frequency of their use and who participated in this email based dialogue and who were identified lines 1-3 of the transcribed emails within each recruitment attempt were tabulated. An example of this, which is drawn from Chapter IV, is presented in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8

Email Subject Line Terms, Frequency and Participants

Term in Subject Line	Frequency	Participants
Update	9	CEO, HD NBU
Intern	6	CEO, HD NBU
Job offer	4	CEO, GS NBU
Resume	4	CEO, HD NBU, GS NBU
Facility tour	1	HPD ACME, GS NBU, RS ACME, HR ACME
Thanks for the feedback	1	CEO, HD NBU
Emails without a subject	4	HPD ACME, GS NBU
Total emails analyzed	29	

7. Having created an archive of the transcribed emails between the participants, I divided this archive into three sub-archives such that each corresponded to one of the three recruitment attempts I then I used *semantic analysis* as proposed by Spradley (1979) to analyze the discourse between the participants. This process entailed identifying *terms* used by the participants, which were then used to uncover the series of semantic relationships (X is a kind of Y) that constituted visible patterns of behavior of the participants present in this telling case.

8. In the next step of this study, I conducted a contrastive analysis of transcribed texts of discursive events that occurred across the three recruitment attempts. This provides evidence of intertextuality as these texts were taken up and reformulated by or

for different participants. An example of this is featured in Table 3.9 which presents a transcribed description of the internship role sent to a faculty member by the CEO during the first recruitment attempt and is located, for contrastive analysis purposes, alongside a version sent to a candidate by the CEO in the second recruitment attempt.

Table 3.9

An Example of Comparative Analysis of Two Inscribed Texts

Line Number		
1	HPD ACME's Job Description for an Intern	CEO's Description for an Intern
2	Wednesday, March 4, 2015, 6:05 p.m.	Wednesday, March 4, 2015, 7:24 p.m.
3	Recipient: CEO	Recipient: HD NBU
4	ANALYTICAL/APPLICATION CHEMIST	ANALYTICAL/APPLICATION CHEMIST
5	Responsibilities (including but not limited to):	Responsibilities (including but not limited to):
6	· Implement analytical methods and applications	· Implement analytical methods and applications
7	· Prepare chemical packages	· Prepare chemical packages
8	· Operate laboratory equipment	· Operate laboratory equipment
9	· Participate in development of new analytical methods and	· Participate in development of new analytical methods and
10	applications	applications
11	Qualifications:	Qualifications:
12	· BSc in Chemistry, Analytical Chemistry, Environmental	· BSc in Chemistry, Analytical Chemistry, Environmental
13	Science	Science
14	· Hands-on experience with basic laboratory equipment	· Hands-on experience with basic laboratory equipment
15	· Experience with modern laboratory analytical equipment	· Experience with modern laboratory analytical equipment
16	(preferable)	(preferable)
17	· Basic electrochemistry knowledge (preferable)	· Basic electrochemistry knowledge (preferable)
18		<i>They will be working for HPD ACME and with the team to develop</i>
19		<i>and test new analytical methods and applications for our innovative</i>
20		<i>online heavy metal instrumentation.</i>
21		<i>We are a small team and I am sure can offer an interesting role in a</i>
22		<i>company which is building a world leadership position where we</i>
23		<i>value commitment and enjoying our work.</i>

Conclusion

Because the first and second recruitment efforts ended in failures, this analysis provided the opportunity to uncover the norms and expectations, roles and relationships within ACME that would not have been visible with the analysis of the third recruitment attempt that represented a successful negotiation, in which a graduate student gained access to an internship, and ACME gained access to a graduate intern. In Chapters IV, V, and VI that follow, I will present a detailed analysis of the three recruitment attempts using the analytical approaches outlined above. By studying the three recruitment attempts an opportunity to compare and contrast patterns of discourse and activity across time is provided. As a result of this approach, I was identified chains of activity that I presented as event maps (Baker, Green & Skukauskaite, 2008), that provide the bit-by-bit (re)analysis construction of activities and (re)presentation of flows of conduct (Giddens, 1984) that enabled me to identify the initiation and subsequent phases of each recruitment attempt. As has already been indicated in those event maps (Figures 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4) each of these attempts followed a different time line and a different process in terms of activities and the sequencing of these. This, therefore, indicates that an interactional ethnographic approach is better suited to studying this phenomenon than a behaviorist based methodology.

The approach adopted in this study is grounded in a logic of inquiry that analyzes reconstructed records of the actions and discourse of the participants in a social activity (the recruitment of an intern) in a given social context (in and at the boundary of company called ACME) to uncover empirical evidence of the norms and expectations, roles and relationships, rights and obligation of its members—who can say and do what, when and where and the outcomes of that for individuals and the groups of which they are a members.

In turn, in an iterative and recursive process, the outcomes of that analysis lead to further inquiry that shaped the understandings to gained of this the social phenomenon.

Chapter IV: The First Attempt to Recruit and Intern

In this chapter, I examine recruitment of an intern for an internship that was being offered by ACME (pseudonym) a fast-growing technology company based in Northern California that employed 15 people who were predominantly experienced scientists and chemical, industrial and software engineers. The goal of this chapter is to address the following question: *What supported and constrained the recruitment of a graduate student at this particular site?*

To address this question, I developed a data set from the larger archive that laid the foundation for an analysis of the intentional exchanges (emails, phone calls and documents) between the participants who were employees of company, and, between those employees and a university faculty member and a graduate student. The boundaries (see Green, Skukauskaite and Baker, 2012) of this study were not delimited by those of a physical space but by the interactions between those who participated in the design of an internship and the recruitment of an intern. I initially delimited the time boundary to this study as the 52-day period from when the need to recruit an intern was identified to the day the search was resolved when the candidate rejected the offer made to them. However, subsequently I extended this time boundary both backward, as I explored and identified the records to identify the roots of the dialogue between participants and the routes by which they came to participate in this social activity, and forward as the dialogue between the participants continued beyond the moment in which the recruitment attempt was resolved.

The framework guiding the analysis in this chapter was grounded in an interactional ethnographic approach (Bridges and Green, in press) that was presented in Chapter II. This

approach provided a logic of inquiry that guided how and in what ways I identified who the actors were, with whom they interacted, how and in what social context the interactions occurred, and what outcomes were of this attempt. In adopting this approach, I analyzed the data set from multiple angles:

1. Who the participants were and with whom they interacted and how?
2. What was inscribed in the subject line of emails that they exchanged?
3. What the chronology of their interactions was?
4. What patterns of organizational activity were identified (cf. Barber, 1998)?

For the purposes of this analysis of the first attempt by ACME to recruit an intern, I took a subset of the records in the archive that were related to that attempt. My analysis of the data was conducted from the perspective of the participant-observer in this study in which I positioned myself as CEO as researcher-researcher as CEO (see Chapter III). This required me to stand back from ethnocentrism and the “known” to address the questions above.

Data on the participants in the first attempt to recruit an intern and their roles was extracted from the records in the archive and are (re)presented in Table 4.1 alongside the acronyms used for them in this study.

Table 4.1

The Participants in the First Attempt by ACME to Recruit an Intern

Title	Acronym
Chief Executive Officer, ACME	CEO
Head of Product Development, ACME	HPD ACME
Research Scientist, ACME	RS ACME
HR Manager, ACME	HR ACME
Head of Department at North Bay University	HD NBU
Graduate Student at North Bay University	GS NBU

Table 4.2 presents the nature of the interactions and records of these interactions identified between these participants across time. Analysis of the interactions of the actors in Table 4.2 indicates that these consisted of 29 emails, five face-to face meetings, three phone calls, one paper that the CEO wrote for the board of ACME, and the CEO headnotes. As CEO, I also had access to relevant confidential HR policy and procedure documents within ACME. The analysis of these records indicated that, with the exception of one email between HPD ACME and the CEO, all other emails were between members of ACME and outsiders to ACME as were all telephone conversations. Analysis of the data set also showed that, of the five face to face meetings, two exclusively involved members of ACME, while the other three were between members of ACME and outsiders. Thus, this analysis showed that email correspondence was the principal form of discourse between the actors. Over 60% (18) of these emails were between the CEO and HD NBU who, thus, emerged as the principal participants in this activity to recruit an intern.

Table 4.2

The Nature and Context of Discourse During a Recruitment Process

		Originator				
		CEO	HD NBU	HPD ACME	GS NBU	Board of ACME
Primary Recipient	CEO	–	1 face-to-face meeting at NBU with GS NBU 10 emails	Not detected	2 emails	Not detected
	HD NBU	2 phone calls (of which one voice message) 8 emails	–	Not detected	Not detected	Not detected
	HPD ACME	2 face-to-face meetings in ACME 1 email	Not detected	–	1 email	Not detected
	GS NBU	1 phone call (voice message) 3 emails	1 face-to-face meeting at NBU with CEO	2 face-to-face meetings at ACME 4 emails	–	Not detected
	Board of ACME	1 board paper	Not detected	Not detected	Not detected	–

An analysis of the emails between the participants revealed that their subject line (when present) included the following terms with corresponding frequency as shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3

Email Subject Line Terms, Frequency and Participants

Term in Subject Line	Frequency	Participants
Update	9	CEO, HD NBU
Intern	6	CEO, HD NBU
Job offer	4	CEO, GS MBU
Resume	4	CEO, HD NBU, GS NBU
Facility tour	1	HPD ACME, GS NBU, RS ACME, HR ACME
Thanks for the feedback	1	CEO, HD NBU
Emails without a subject line header	4	HPD ACME, GS NBU
Total emails analyzed	29	

My examination of the written and verbal discourse between participants, and the activities in which they engaged yielded information about who could do what, with whom, under what conditions and with what outcomes both within the company (ACME) and at the boundary of ACME with participants from a public university (North Bay University) where a potential intern (GS NBU) and his Head of Department (HD NBU) was located. Of the 29 emails in the archive, 25 had a term in the subject line of the email and of these the second most used term (six times) was *Intern* indicating that this was a central theme to the email based dialogues that occurred between the actors. The most used term was *Updates* and this and the term *Intern* appeared exclusively in the records of email dialogue between the CEO

and HD NBU. This began to make visible the nature of the roles, responsibilities and relationship of these two participants which I will examine later in this chapter. The term *Job Offer* was used exclusively in email dialogue between the CEO and GS NBU and began to suggest the nature of their emerging relationship during this recruitment activity which I will also examine later in this chapter. The term *Resume* was used as a subject line in two emails between the CEO and HD NBU who were identified as originator or recipient of these emails, and in two emails when CEO and GS NBU were identified as originator or recipient of these emails.

The Recruitment of an Intern

Transcripts developed from the archived records (Chapter III) were used to reconstruct the formation and ongoing recruitment of the intern. The transcripts provided evidence that the offer of an internship to a student, took place on April 15, 2015. The internship opportunity was offered by the CEO to GS NBU, a graduate student from North Bay University who had been identified and introduced to the CEO by HD NBU, his faculty professor, with whom the CEO had prior acquaintance. A reconstruction of the offer that was made by email is provided in Table. 4.4, in which each line of the reconstructed email-based dialogue was numbered for ease of reference later.

Table 4.4

Reconstructed Email of an Offer of an Internship

Line Number	Reconstructed Email Text
1	From: CEO
2	To: GS NBU
3	CC. HPD ACME, HR ACME
5	Date: Wednesday, April 15, 2015, 2:15 p.m.
6	Subject: Job Offer
7	GS NBU
8	I hope this finds you well.
9	HPD ACME has confirmed to me that he would like you to
10	join us so I need to put together a formal offer for you. In
11	order to do that can you please send to me your contact
12	details, when you can start and how many hours or days a
13	week you would be available.
14	I would propose that we pay you \$13/hour for the first
15	month you are with us and if that works out we will increase
16	that to \$15/hour. We will pay all travel expenses should you
17	be asked to work away from our offices.
18	As HPD ACME has indicated we will be making an
19	investment in you so we hope that you are able to commit to
20	us for at least 6 months and hopefully more!
21	We very much look forward to you joining us and becoming
22	a part of a small but very success-hungry and motivated
23	team.
24	Best regards
25	CEO
26	

This offer was rejected, as indicated in the email sent to the CEO by GS NBU eight days later, on April 23, 2015, and that is (re)presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5

Reconstructed Email in Which a Candidate Rejected the Offer of an Internship

Line Number	Email Text
1	From: GS NBU
2	To: CEO, ACME
3	Date: Thursday, April 23, 2015, 2:24 p.m.
4	Subject: Re: Job Offer
5	Dear CEO
6	Sorry for the late response. Your previous email was sent to
7	my spam folder. I truly appreciate the offer however, I do
8	not find it practical to travel to ACME for the suggested
9	compensation. I apologize for any inconvenience and wish
10	you well.
11	Thank you
12	(Signed) GS NBU

This email was received by the CEO from GS NBU 52 days after the recruitment of an intern had been identified by the management of ACME as a means to addressing a business need. In standing back to examine the records of the discourse and actions of the participants and the headnotes of the CEO, this rejection appears as a frame clash (Chapter II) in that it was not what the CEO had expected as a response from GS NBU to whom the CEO had made the offer of an internship. The rejection formed the basis of what Agar (1984, 2008) calls a “rich point,” which emerged as I analyzed transcripts generated from written accounts of the exchanges leading up to the offer of the internship and the subsequent rejection of the offer by GS NBU. Agar defines a “rich point” (Agar, 2008) as a moment that occurs and is made visible as a frame clash when the expectations of one of the participants conflicts with the actions of another, thereby revealing a pattern of behavior or way of saying or being that would have otherwise remained invisible. Such rich points, Agar argues serve as a basis for developing insights, when the ethnographers begin to question what is happening, i.e., when they face or encounter an unanticipated response or process, given

prior understandings of such social phenomena as expected roles and relationships, norms and expectations, and rights and obligations from either the ethnographers own experience and/or understanding of these phenomenon as developed by the participants who are being observed.

Exploring the Claim of a Rich Point

In stepping back from this scene where an apparent frame clash had occurred, I re-entered the archives where I uncovered further evidence to corroborate this observation of a frame clash. This evidence comprised records of the discourse that had occurred between HD NBU, a professor from NBU and the CEO of ACME. On April 13, 2015, the CEO sent an email to HD NBU, an extract of which is provided in Table 4.6 that I developed using Spradley's (1984) semantic relationships to analyze the transcribed records of that email, a complete version of which is presented in Appendix A, lines 163-176. This analysis indicated that it was the "hope" of the CEO that GS NBU *would* join ACME and he shared this sentiment with HD NBU two days *before* the CEO made the offer to HD NBU's student. (GS NBU).

Table 4.6

Ways of Signaling an Expectation

X Is a Statement	As a Means of Y
Just to update you on GS NBU	Indicating the object of statement—what is to follow
We are hoping he will join us	Expressing an expectation

HD NBU replied to this email within 10 minutes and, as shown in Table 4.7 that is an extract from that reconstructed email, expressed both surprise that GS NBU “had followed through” and reveals with his use of “*might*” a degree of uncertainty that the role of intern “would work out for him.”

Table 4.7

Statements as Ways of Expressing Emotions

X Is a Statement	As a Way of Expressing Y
Wow	Surprise
I’m pleased to hear that he followed through	Pleasure
And that it might work out for him	Uncertainty

An analysis of the data showed that when the CEO subsequently wrote to HD NBU by email to inform him of GS NBU’s rejection of the offer of an internship, HD NBU replied by email in which he expressed his surprise and disappointment as evidenced in Table 4.8 which I extracted from that reconstructed email, the entire version of which is provided in Appendix A, lines 209-345.

Table 4.8

Ways of Expressing Surprise and Disappointment

X Is a Statement	As a Way of Expressing Y
Ah	Surprise
Alas	Disappointment
It's unfortunate	Disappointment

Further analysis of the discourse of HD NBU to be found in a subsequent email sent by HD NBU to the CEO, an extract from which is presented in Table 4.9. This evidenced the reflection of HD NBU on the limits to the roles and responsibilities of university faculty and his assessment of the role and responsibility of GS NBU in exercising agency that was reflected in his rejection of the offer of an internship.

Table 4.9

Ways of Defining Roles and Responsibilities

X Is a Statement	As a Way of Describing Y
At the end of the day, all we can do is offer to guide them	The role and responsibility of faculty
They are the ones who must take ownership of their own lives	The responsibility and agency of the student

Having established that this frame clash occurred between the expectations of the participants present in this discourse, I adopted it as a rich point for this study. Following

Agar (1994), I used this rich point as an anchor for this study of the discourse and interactions that preceded and followed from this point in time, in order to uncover evidence of the norms and expectations, rights and responsibilities and roles and relationships framing the interactional processes and goals of those who participated in the recruitment of an intern.

Research Approach

My research approach which was presented in Chapter III, led me to reenter the records of the interactions and events that took place prior to the offer of an internship. In reentering the archive, I sought to uncover evidence of what informed, and thus led to my understanding of the recruitment activity in the initial phase of this study. This phase of analysis led me to (re)construct the interactional chain of events and to identify:

- Who the actors were that were engaged in that activity;
- What the prior dialogues and engagement was between the actors that brought them together to the point in which an internship opportunity at ACME was offered to GS NBU; and
- How it was that an offer came to be made that GS NBU was unwilling to accept?

I also examined the other actors involved in supporting and/or constraining the recruitment of the intern, their roles, and the expectations of the actors in terms of outcomes from their engagement with one another. As part of the analysis of the events that unfolded, I also sought to uncover:

- The ways in which strangers negotiated access to new social contexts;
- The role(s) of those already in the site in supporting or constraining strangers' access; and

- What can be learned about the patterns of behavior, roles, norms, expectations, regulations, rules and obligations of those already present in the site, all of which can be seen through the interactions between members of the company and the potential intern (i.e., the stranger entering a social group).

In the following section I will analyze in detail the dialogues and actions that were involved in this attempt to recruit an intern.

Describing the Recruitment Process for an Intern at ACME

Following Barber (1998), I conducted a macro-level analysis of the developing design, implementation and resolution of the recruitment process and this informed my initial identification of what appeared to be a linear process as (re)presented in Figure 4.1 in which seven phases of the recruitment process are identified:

- 1) Identifying a business need for which recruitment of an intern is a potential solution;
- 2) Designing an internship opportunity;
- 3) Recruiting an intern recruiter;
- 4) Identifying a candidate;
- 5) Selecting a candidate;
- 6) Designing an internship offer; and
- 7) Resolution.

Using the event map below, which provided an overview of these activities against a timeline, I began this analysis with a close examination of the dialogue between the CEO and GS NBU and traced back across time from the “frame clash”—the rejection by GS NBU of the

offer of an internship—to identify the actions and discourse that led up to that and that followed. Thus, in Chapters V and VI, I will trace forward from this “frame clash” and conduct a detailed analysis to uncover evidence of what followed as outcomes of this “frame clash.”

March	2		4	9	11	April	2	5	10	13	15	22	23	May	21
2015						2015								2015	
	Recruiting an Intern: First Attempt														
	Identifying a Business Need	Designing an Internship	Recruiting an Intern Recruiter	Identifying a Candidate	Selecting a Candidate			Designing an Internship Offer	Resolution				Identifying a Candidate		
										CEO Makes an Offer of Internship to GS NBU	CEO calls GS NBU for Feedback on Offer of Internship	GS NBU Rejects Offer of Internship			

Figure 4.1. Timelines and phases of the developing internship

Analysis of Sources Contributing to the Rejection of the Offer

In this section, I explore further the rich point that emerged during the exchanges between the CEO and GS NBU to whom the offer of an internship was made. This key moment when expectations of the participants were not fulfilled, led me to step back and analyze the events and actions that led up to them.

As indicated in Figure 4.1 and presented in Table 4.4, the initial internship offer was made by the CEO to GS NBU through an email sent on April 15, 2015. When GS NBU did not respond to the offer for seven days, analysis of the CEO's headnotes indicate that he telephoned GS NBU to obtain a response to the offer as he had not expected GS NBU to take so long to respond and the need to recruit an intern at ACME was a pressing issue. GS NBU's response to the offer was received by the CEO in an email on the following day which was eight days after the offer had been made, as was shown in Table 4.5.

In the analysis that follows, I returned to the archive of reconstructed emails to (re)examine how the offer was inscribed and what was proposed in the exchanges leading up to GS NBU's rejection of the internship. The purpose of this analysis was to explore factors that led to the shift in GS NBU's desire to occupy the position. Additionally, I examined the activities and events that led to the CEO's expression of a wish to bring GS NBU into the company as a paid intern. As indicated previously, there was no indication in the transcripts that the action by GS NBU to reject the offer of an internship from ACME had been anticipated by the CEO or HD NBI.

In order to further understand the routes and roots of this frame clash, I once again reentered the archive of the records pertaining to this recruitment process in order to identify

and analyze the dialogues and interactions that had preceded it. This phase of the analyzes involved conducting a domain analysis (Spradley, 1984) of the discourse between the CEO and GS NBU. The focus of this domain analysis was the semantic relationship between X is a statement by which Y the CEO signaled Z to GS NBU. This analysis is (re)presented in Table 4.10 in which an offer of a job was being made, as indicated by the subject header in the CEO's email.

Table 4.10

Signaling a Job/Internship Offer Is Being Made

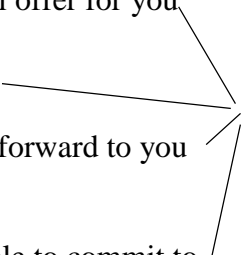
X Is a Statement	That Is a Way of Y	That Signals Z
Job offer	Inscribing an email subject line	A job offer is to follow
Put together a formal offer for you	 <p>Indicating interest in candidate</p>	An offer of a job
Like you to join us		
We very much look forward to you joining us		
Hope that you are able to commit to us		

Table 4.11 presents an analysis of the words extracted from Table 4.4, which is a reconstructed email inscribed by the CEO with the intention of describing the opportunity the CEO was offering to GS NBU that included a starting salary and the possibility of a salary increase. The CEO suggested the potential for paid travel, and framed the offer as an investment by ACME in GS NBU.

Table 4.11

Statements Used to Frame the Internship Opportunity

X Is a Type of Job Offer	As a Way of Characterizing What is Being Offered Y
Propose that we pay you \$13/hour for the first month	A rate of pay
If that works out we will increase that to \$15/hour	A future rate of pay
We will pay all travel expenses should you be asked to work away from our offices	Compensation for travel related expenses
We will be making an investment in you	Commitment of company to invest in graduate

In the same email, the CEO described the working environment at ACME and the statement used by CEO for this purposes in his email to GS NBU is presented in Table 4.12 that is extracted from Table 4.4.

Table 4.12

Statement Describing ACME that GS NBU Would be Joining

X Is a Type of Company	As Way of Characterizing a Group of Employees
Small	Motivated team
	Very success-hungry

Table 4.13 shows the phrases the CEO uttered and which signaled a desire to get the internship underway and they indicate the CEO's pre-supposition that GS NBU would

respond favorably to them, and therefore, the questions the CEO posed would need to be answered so that GS NBU could start his internship at ACME.

Table 4.13

Statements Used in Preparing for Entry to a Proposed Internship

X Is a Request by CEO of GS NBU	Is a Way of Preparing for the Start of an Internship Y
When you can start	Establishing the start date
How many hours or days a week you would be available	Availability outside university hours
Commit to us for at least 6 months and hopefully more!	Anticipating duration of time with ACME

An examination of the CEO's headnotes indicated that he telephoned GS NBU when a week had passed after he had sent the offer of an internship to GS NBU and there had been no response to it. The record of this and what followed are based on the CEO's headnotes and are presented in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14

Reconstruction of CEO's Headnotes of a Dialogue With an Intern

Initiator	Headnotes (X Is ...)	... For the Purpose of Y
CEO	Making a telephone call to GS NBU	Exercising agency to obtain a response to an offer of an internship at ACME
CEO	Calling GS NBU	Obtaining GS NBU's response to an offer of an internship at ACME as beginning to have doubts
CEO	Asking for GS NBU's response to the offer of an internship at ACME	Needing know GS NBU's intention
CEO	Asking GS NBU to contact CEO	Needing to know if GS NBU was not going to accept the offer CEO would need to reinitiate the search for an intern

By triangulating data from the analysis of the CEO's headnotes with the records in the CEO's professional calendar, I corroborated that the timing of the call was aimed at giving the CEO the opportunity to reinitiate the search for an intern before he left on a business trip, should GS NBU decide not to accept the offer that had been made to him.

On the following day, April 23, 2015, the CEO received a written email reply (Table 4.5) from GS NBU from which Table 4.15 is an extract. Only one reason was given by GS NBU for not having responded to the offer sooner. The offer had gone to his spam folder in his email system.

Table 4.15

Statement Used to Explain a Lack of Response

X Is a Statement	As a Reason for Y
Your previous email was sent to my spam folder	A late response

GS NBU proceeded to give two reasons, shown in Table 4.16 which is extracted from Table 4.5 for not taking the job. He determined it was not practical to travel to ACME and the travel to ACME for the suggested compensation was an issue.

Table 4.16

Reasons for Rejecting the Offer of an Internship

X s a Reason	For an Action Y
I do not find it practical to travel to ACME for the suggested compensation	Rejecting the offer of a job

The analysis of the email exchange in Table 4.17 makes visible that GS NBU appreciated the offer of the internship.

Table 4.17

Statement Acknowledging Appreciation of an Internship

X Is a Statement	As a Way of Signaling Y
I truly appreciate the offer	Appreciation of a job offer

However, despite GS NBU's statement of appreciating the offer of an internship, GS NBU did not take it up because he did not find the proposed salary to be practical given the driving distance to ACME—approximately 30 miles. The CEO was unable to bring in a student to whom a learning and development opportunity had been made available at ACME owing to a mismatch in the expectations of GS NBU (who was interested in the internship position) and those of the CEO who wished to recruit him to ACME to support new product development activities and to give him access to an internship opportunity under specific financial conditions.

My analysis of the discourse between the CEO and GS NBU uncovered GS NBU's "hidden" expectations that had not been made visible during their prior exchanges. The "hidden" expectations led to an action (rejection of the offer) and further discourse that was not anticipated by the CEO when he had made the offer of an internship to GS NBU. This analysis of the discourse also begins to reveal the emergence of a second frame clash to which I will return later in this chapter and subsequent chapters. This frame clash concerns the utterances of the participants in respect of their expectations for the position being offered by ACME: Was it a job or an internship that they were expecting and being offered and how did this shape the dialogue and its outcomes?

Having analyzed in detail the steps which brought GS NBU to the point that he rejected the offer of an internship, I will now trace forward from the point in time when ACME began the search for an intern and examine the discourse and (inter)actions of the actors who participated in that social activity to recruit an intern and to secure an internship.

Identifying a Business Need

In this telling case, there was a point in time when ACME was not recruiting an intern and so would have been impervious to an approach by someone seeking an internship. At another point in time, that situation changed and the CEO of ACME went looking for an intern through a recruitment activity. This is the moment when the recruitment of the intern began. I, therefore, (re)entered the archives to uncover the discourse and actions that brought about this change and, in doing so, sought to gain insights into the roles and relationships, norms and expectations, rights and obligations within ACME. Figure 4.2 presents an event map of this first attempt to recruit an intern by ACME.

March	2		4	5	9	11	April	2	5	10	13	15	22	23	May	21
2015							2015								2015	
		Recruiting an Intern: First Attempt														
	Identifying a need for change	Designing an internship	Recruiting an intern recruiter	Identifying a candidate			Selecting an intern			Designing an internship offer			Resolution		Identifying a candidate	
	ACME employees identify a business problem.	CEO and HPD ACME design an internship	CEO recruits HD NBU as his recruiter of intern applicants	CEO sends to HD NBU role description for intern									CEO makes an offer of internship to GS NBU	CEO calls GS NBU for feedback on offer of internship	GS NBU rejects offer of internship	

Figure 4.2. Situating the Identification of a Need for Change Within ACME

An analysis of the CEO’s electronic calendar and headnotes revealed that two days preceding the initiation of the search for an intern, the CEO had conversations with HPD ACME and other employees of ACME about the need to increase the resources in the company available to support HPD ACME in the development of new products to be sold by ACME. From this, I inferred that without that business need, the conditions for the design of an internship and search for an intern would not have existed, and it was this discourse in this social context that shaped the actions and discourse that followed.

Table 4.18 reveals the CEO’s assessment that I extracted from the CEO’s subsequent memo to the ACME board (see Appendix D) for a complete transcript of the memo) of the options the CEO had identified for addressing the business need to increase resources for product development.

Table 4.18

Options to Affect a Business Change to Increase Laboratory Resources

X Is a Way	To Do Y
Recruit a full-time employee using a recruiter	Increase laboratory resources
Recruit a full-time employee using advertising on social media (e.g., LinkedIn)	
Recruit an intern from local university using CEO’s personal network	

My analysis of the memorandum that is presented in Table 4.19, revealed that it was the CEO’s expectation that he would use his professional network to identify an intern rather than the expensive and time-consuming process of using professional recruiters who would not be suited to identifying graduate interns as opposed to experienced professionals.

Table 4.19

X Is a Way of Framing a Recruitment Decision

X Is a Means to Affect a Business Exchange to Increase Laboratory Resources	X Is a Potential Outcome of the Choice of a Means to Increase Laboratory Resources
Recruit a full-time employee using a professional recruiter	<p>Full-time employee represents long-term financial commitment by ACME at time of investment uncertainty for ACME</p> <p>High local salaries for laboratory staff</p> <p>Cost of recruiter (30% of employee salary)</p> <p>Lack of ex-military service candidates</p> <p>Time to locate candidates</p> <p>Availability of candidates/competition for candidates in local area from pharma companies</p>
Recruit a full-time employee using advertising on social media (e.g., LinkedIn)	<p>Full-time employee represents long-term financial commitment by ACME at time of investment uncertainty for ACME</p> <p>Difficulty of targeting suitable candidates with social media</p> <p>Time of CEO required to review and respond to multiple applications</p>
Recruit an intern from a local university	<p>Use CEO's professional network to identify limited number of suitable candidates</p> <p>Flexible employment arrangement</p> <p>Lower cost than full-time employee Avoids recruiter fee</p> <p>If internship successful, will be "tried and tested" for full-time role if company secures long-term funding</p>

My analysis of the ACME company records indicated that the CEO advised the board of the company of management's decision to recruit an intern on April 9, 2015, one month after the process had been initiated (Appendix D). Analysis showed that the timing of this advice came after the decision to recruit an intern had already been made, and the search for one had already been initiated. This provided evidence that the CEO did not need to seek prior approval from the owners of ACME and had the power to initiate the design of an internship and recruitment of an intern as a solution to the problems caused to the company by a shortage of laboratory staff. Corroboration of this claim was provided by evidence obtained from my examination of ACME's human resources manual, which did not uncover a formal obligation for the CEO to inform the board of ACME of this recruitment activity. However, the fact that the CEO did so with intentionality, indicated that the CEO was determined that this intern recruitment activity was significant enough to warrant informing the ACME board and, as such, was an *unwritten* expectation of the board of the CEO which this action by the CEO made visible.

An analysis of the CEO's headnotes indicated that the design of the internship began during ACME's weekly product management meeting on March 2, 2015, when the senior management team, under the leadership of the CEO, discussed and finalized an agreement on how to address the challenge of insufficient human resources to support new product development efforts.

Designing an Internship

An analysis of the CEO's headnotes indicated that the CEO requested from HPD ACME a role description for an intern who would report to the HPD ACME. From the date stamp on the reconstructed email, I have determined that HPD ACME submitted this to the CEO at 6:05 p.m. on March 4, 2015. The location of this activity in this first attempt to recruit an intern is identified in the event map (re)presented in Figure 4.3.

March	2		4		5	9	11	April	2	5	10	13	15	22	23	May	21
2015								2015								2015	
		Recruiting an Intern: First Attempt															
	Identifying a need for change	Designing an internship	Recruiting an intern recruiter	Identifying a candidate			Selecting an intern		Designing an internship offer		Resolution			Identifying a candidate			
	ACME employees identify a business problem	CEO and HPD ACME (co)design an internship	CEO recruits HD NBU as his recruiter of intern applicants	CEO sends to HD NBU role description for intern							CEO makes an offer of internship to GS NBU	CEO calls GS NBU for feedback on offer of internship	GS NBU rejects offer of internship				

Figure 4.3. Situating the (Co)Design of an Internship at ACME

In Table 4.20, I have juxtaposed the reconstructed role description for the intern that I extracted from the job description prepared by HPD ACME and sent to the CEO with the reconstructed description of the intern role sent subsequently by the CEO to HD NBU. Intertextual analysis identified how the job description received by the CEO from HPD ACME was incorporated by the CEO with his own text into the final description of the internship role. The analysis indicated that the CEO did not change the job title—Analytical Application Chemist—or the responsibilities and qualifications outlined by HPD ACME in the job description that he sent to the CEO. Rather, the CEO added to the description (shown in italics in Table 4.20), and this provided evidence of intertextuality (Fairclough 1992): These two participants were the co-designers of the internship role and that the design process was iterative. This analysis also provided evidence of the authority afforded to HPD ACME by the CEO to define the title that the intern would be given (Analytical Application Chemist), the intern's role and responsibilities, and the qualifications the intern would need in order to be considered for position. This made evident the role of HPD ACME in determining who could enter ACME in the role of an intern.

Table 4.20

The (Co)Design of an Internship

Line Number		
1	HPD ACME's Job Description for an Intern	CEO's Description for an Intern
2	Wednesday, March 4, 2015, 6:05 p.m.	Wednesday, March 4, 2015, 7:24 p.m.
3	Recipient: CEO	Recipient: HD NBU
4	ANALYTICAL/APPLICATION CHEMIST	ANALYTICAL/APPLICATION CHEMIST
5	Responsibilities (including but not limited to):	Responsibilities (including but not limited to):
6	· Implement analytical methods and applications	· Implement analytical methods and applications
7	· Prepare chemical packages	· Prepare chemical packages
8	· Operate laboratory equipment	· Operate laboratory equipment
9	· Participate in development of new analytical methods and	· Participate in development of new analytical methods and
10	applications	applications
11	Qualifications:	Qualifications:
12	· BSc in Chemistry, Analytical Chemistry, Environmental	· BSc in Chemistry, Analytical Chemistry, Environmental Science
13	Science	· Hands-on experience with basic laboratory equipment
14	· Hands-on experience with basic laboratory equipment	· Experience with modern laboratory analytical equipment
15	· Experience with modern laboratory analytical equipment	(preferable)
16	(preferable)	· Basic electrochemistry knowledge (preferable)
17	· Basic electrochemistry knowledge (preferable)	<i>They will be working for HPD ACME and with the team to develop</i>
18		<i>and test new analytical methods and applications for our innovative</i>
19		<i>online heavy metal instrumentation.</i>
20		<i>We are a small team and I am sure can offer an interesting role in a</i>
21		<i>company which is building a world leadership position where we</i>
22		<i>value commitment and enjoying our work</i>
23		

The role description initially inscribed by HPD ACME and added to subsequently by the CEO, offered a prospective intern insight into the company, the reporting relationship within the company, and the type of work the intern would be undertaking. Table 4.21 shows that the CEO inscribed in lines 20-25 a perspective of the company as being small and innovative, with a culture in which the members value commitment and enjoy their work and a view of the internship that it offered an interesting role.

Table 4.21

Framing the Company

X Is a Kind of Company	X Is a Way of Describing a Company
Small team	The size of the company
Interesting role	The nature of the role
Innovative online heavy metal instrumentation	The activity of the company
Company building a world leadership position	The activity of the company
Value commitment	The values of the company
Enjoying our work	The values of the company

Table 4.21 is an extract from the inscription of the internship role and makes visible the discourse that defined the relationship the intern as a future member of ACME would have with those already present within the company. The analysis of this discourse provided insights into the identity of a future co-worker and the existence of a team. This analysis also indicated the authority position of the CEO within ACME to determine the employees of ACME with whom the intern would work.

Table 4.22

Statements Describing Working Relationships Within ACME

X Is a Way	To Do Y
Will be working with HPD ACME And with the team	Develop and test new analytical methods and applications

Table 4.23 is an extract of the transcribed role description and are the statements of an insider to an outsider that describes the role to an outsider.

Table 4.23

Statements Describing the Work of an Intern

X Is a Kind of Activity	For the Purpose of Y
Develop and test new analytical methods and application	For our innovative online heavy metal instrumentation.

In the email in which the role description of the internship was sent by the CEO to HD NBU, the content of the email was foregrounded with a statement defining the nature and purpose of this communication as shown in Table 4.24.

Table 4.24

Statement Signaling a Job Description Will Follow

X Is a Kind of Email	To Identify Y
The basic job description	The intern we are seeking

As has been noted above, the “job” description (Table 4.20) sets out the CEO’s and HPD ACME’s expectations for the role, the qualifications and experience *of* the “intern.” However, there is no mention made of learning and development opportunities that the intern might expect *of* the company. This is the emerging frame clash to which I referred earlier in this chapter and prompts the question: What was being constructed, signaled and understood here by the participants—a job or an internship, or a mixture of both—and for whom?

Recruiting a Recruiter

Analysis of email records indicated that at 7:24 p.m. on March 4, 2015, the CEO of ACME sent to HD NBU, a faculty member at NBU, a description of the internship role. Figure 4.4 locates this dialogue in the (re)presentation of the event map of the first attempt by ACME to recruit an intern. In this attempt, the CEO requested HD NBU’s assistance with identifying applicants for the intern position. In subsequently agreeing to assist the CEO, HD NBU took on the role of a recruiter for the CEO.

The records showed that the email was sent following a dialogue that took place between the CEO and HD NBU. The CEO’s reconstructed headnotes (Appendix 5, lines 18-22) indicate that he contacted HD NBU on March 4, 2015, by phone from his car at approximately 6:30 p.m. The CEO’s headnotes indicated that in the call from his car he asked HD NBU if he knew of any students at NBU that might be interested and suitable for an internship at ACME, and HD NBU requested a copy of the role description for the internship.

March	2		4		5	9	11	April	2	5	10	13		15		22		23		May	21	
2015								2015													2105	
	Recruiting an Intern: First Attempt																					
	Identifying a business need	Designing an internship	Recruiting an intern recruiter	Identifying a candidate	Selecting a candidate			Designing an internship offer	Resolution					Identifying a candidate								
	ACME employee meeting to address a business problem	CEO and HPD ACME design an internship	CEO recruits HD NBU as his recruiter of intern applicants						CEO makes an offer of internship to GS NBU	CEO calls GS NBU for feedback on offer of internship	GS NBU rejects offer of internship											

Figure 4.4. Situating the Recruitment of a Recruiter in the First Recruitment Attempt

An extract of the reconstructed email from the CEO to HD NBU that followed the telephone conversation at 7:24 p.m. on the same evening is presented in Table 4.25 and evidences the prior conversation (referred to as “catching up”).

Table 4.25

A Statement Signaling a Prior Conversation

X Is a Statement	As a Way of Referencing Y
It was good to catch up with you this evening	A prior conversation

In order to identify the route by which these two participants knew each other, I (re)searched the ACME email server to locate records of prior emails from the previous 12 months between the CEO and HD NBU. Through this process, I identified and transcribed an email that represents an example of prior discourse between these two actors and this is presented in Table 4.26. My analysis of this reconstructed email indicated that during that year discursive activities had taken place between HD NBU and the CEO in relation to the joint construction of an application for a National Science Foundation grant involving HD NBU and ACME.

Table 4.26

Evidence of a Prior Relationship

Line Number	
1	From: HD NBU
2	To: CEO
3	CC: NBU Office of Research, HPD ACME
4	Date: Sun, Oct. 5, 2014, at 10:48 p.m.
5	CEO,
6	Thanks for sending your edits. Sure, I am
7	available for a call this week. Mondays and
8	Wednesdays are not good, as those days are
10	pretty packed with teaching for me. I also have
11	class and a few meetings Friday, but am
12	available in the afternoon. Tuesday and
13	Thursday are best.
14	My major weakness here is that I have not
15	written a proposal to NSF before, and I gather
16	that their requirements are pretty specific. Is
17	there anyone at University Office of Research I
18	can talk to for “tips and tricks” on NSF
19	proposals, or a document template, successful
20	previous proposals, etc.? Otherwise I will just
21	work off of the NSF general proposal
22	guidelines.
23	(Signed) HD NBU
24	
25	
26	

Table 4.26 provided evidence that when the CEO approached HD NBU about the need to recruit an intern, the CEO was not approaching a stranger but was engaging with someone with whom the CEO was already acquainted and had an existing professional relationship, such that CEO knew of HD NBU’s role within NBU. This evidence also showed that when HD NBU was approached by the CEO, it was not an approach by a stranger but by someone he knew and with whom he had previously engaged with through discourse. Thus, the CEO was seen seeking to approach the social group, NBU, and using the prior relationship with HD NBU (a member of the social group called NBU) as a basis for recruiting HD NB to assist with the identification and recruitment of a pool of applicants

from within NBU for the position of intern at ACME. This activity I have given the term “recruiting the recruiter.”

In this telling case, HD NBU, acting as a recruiter’s recruiter, represented a participant who had knowledge of the NBU and relationships with the students there. HD NBU also had knowledge of ACME and an existing relationship with ACME’s CEO who had reciprocal knowledge of and a relationship with HD NBU and NBU as evidenced by the joint work on a grant proposal. Both actors were situated at and have a history of engagement at the boundaries of their two different entities, each having its own “Languaculture”—ways and patterns of being (Spradley, 2008). Both the CEO of ACME and HD NBU had a level of awareness of the Languaculture of the other entity, that gave them visibility of the norms and expectations, rights and obligations of the other’s social group. They can be considered “boundary crossers,” in the sense that they had come to know one another and the social groups of which each is a member. Relationships were developed sufficiently to warrant a request for help from the CEO to HD NBU. My analysis showed that HD NBU replied at 8:48 p.m. on the same evening (March 14, 2015) and agreed to help the CEO access students at the university, and acted to give a student access to a potential internship at ACME based on his understanding of the needs of both sets of participants. I thereby identified HD NBU as acting as a “key decision maker” at the boundary of NBU, and also fulfilling the role of a bridge builder for the CEO with a student at NBU and vice versa.

HD NBU’s identity as recruiter for a recruiter (the CEO) was corroborated with further evidence some six weeks later on May 21, 2015, a month after GS NBU had rejected the offer of an internship from the CEO and the CEO’s efforts to bring a stranger, GS NBU, into ACME had failed. The analysis of his reconstructed email presented in Table 4.27,

indicated that HD NBU offered the CEO the possibility to consider two more potential interns that he had identified within NBU. In addition, his statements, when examined for intertextuality, revealed that the information HD NBU had received from the CEO, as to the reasons why GS NBU had rejected the CEO's offer (travel distance from home to ACME), had been incorporated into his consideration of the accessibility of this opportunity to potential interns. This analysis of these statements by HD NBU provided further corroboratory evidence of the role of HD NBU as a "key decision maker" and "boundary crosser" at the boundaries of NBU and ACME.

Table 4.27

Signaling the Activity of a Recruiter's Recruiter

X Signals	Y as a Way of Identifying a Candidate for an Internship
I've checked with a few students	Checking with students
In all cases they live pretty far out and ACME is a bit of a hike	Assessing distance to ACME
I've got two other students lined up	Lining up candidates

Identifying a Candidate

The location of the identification of a candidate in the actions and discourse of the first recruitment attempt is (re)presented in Figure 4.5. In this telling case, the event map and data show the identification of a single candidate, GS NBU, by HD NBU took place on the evening of March 4, 2015.

March	2		4	5	9	11	April	2	5	10	13	15	22	23	May	21
2015							2015								2105	
	Recruiting an Intern: First Attempt															
	Identifying a business need	Designing an internship	Recruiting an intern recruiter	Identifying a candidate	Selecting a candidate			Designing an internship offer	Resolution			Identifying a candidate				
	ACME employee meeting to address a business problem.	CEO and HPD ACME design an internship	CEO recruits HD NBU as his recruiter of intern applicants						CEO makes an offer of internship to GS NBU	CEO calls GS NBU for feedback on offer of internship	GS NBU rejects offer of internship					

Figure 4.5. Identifying the Candidate in the First Recruitment Attempt

Evidence that HD NBU identified a candidate was uncovered in the email of HD NBU to the CEO as shown in Table 4.28 (extracted from Appendix A, lines 25-37).

Table 4.28

Signaling the Identification of a Candidate for an Internship

X Is a Way	To Identify to Y
Actually will be talking with a student about this tomorrow	Identifying a candidate for an internship at ACME

Table 4.29 presents evidence of intertextuality exhibited by HD NBU who incorporated the requirements of the intern position at ACME as provided to him by the CEO (Table 4.20) in the job description to characterize a graduate in an environmental science program—thereby identifying that graduate, GS NBU, as a suitable candidate for the position of an intern.

Table 4.29

Statements of an Intern Candidate's Attributes

X Is a Kind of Intern
About to graduate Graduate from our environmental science program

In Table 4.30, evidence is provided that HD NBU believed GS NBU to be conscientious, a quick learner, having lab experience, and able to be molded into a great worker with little effort. These statements indicated that HD NBU saw this internship as more of an employment (worker) opportunity for GS NBU rather than a role in which

learning as an intern would be GS NBU's primary activity. This provided further evidence of the confusion that surrounds the purpose of internships and roles of interns. On the one hand, the stated expectations of the CEO that was made visible by the analysis of his discourse with HD NBU, was to recruit an *intern*. On the other hand, the analysis of the patterns of behavior and discourse of the CEO and HD NBU (re)presented in Table 4.30 indicated they were both also considering GS NBU as a future *worker*.

Table 4.30

Personal Attributes of an Intern Candidate (GS NBU)

X Is an Attribute	That Signals a Candidate's Y
Conscientious	Way of working
A quick learner	Way of learning
Working with me in the lab lately	Experience
He could be molded into a great worker with little effort	Potential

In examining the data of what followed next, what emerged was that not only did HD NBU identify a candidate, but he also selected the candidate. Barber, (1998) argues that the generation of a pool of applicants and selection of a candidate are separate phases that precede recruitment. In this telling case, the analysis showed that the generation of the applicant pool and the candidate selection activities were conflated as a result of HD NBU's intentional actions. HD NBU had effectively selected, from within NBU, a sole potential candidate whom he considered suitable for the internship at ACME. Moreover, it was not the ACME "key decision maker," its CEO, or his colleague, HPD ACME, who identified GS NBU as a candidate, but HD NBU who acted as a recruiter for the CEO. This state of affairs

effectively caused the selection phase of the recruitment cycle by the CEO to be bypassed when HD NBU selected and proposed a sole candidate from within NBU. In doing so, HD NBU was identified as having acted as a recruiter of an intern for ACME, and of an internship for the one student he identified. In acting as a “key decision maker” at NBU, HD NBU determined if, when, in what social context and to whom, within NBU, someone from outside could have access, and if, when and in what social context and to whom, outside NBU, a student from within NBU could have access. This led me to (re)present in Table 4.36 the event map of this first recruitment attempt.

Validation of the Selection of an Intern by the Intern Recruiter

Following the identification and selection of a potential intern (GS NBU) by HD NBU, my analysis proceeded to investigate what followed. I have characterized the next activity, based on the evidence above, as follows: In proposing only one student for the internship role on March 5, 2015, HD NBU had identified *and* selected the candidate, and that what followed next was a validation of that selection by the CEO and HPD NBU. This activity was situated in the event map (re)presented in Figure 4.6 and began when the CEO visited the NBU campus to be introduced by HD NBU to GS NBU.

March	2		4	5	9	11	April	2	5	10	13	15	22	23	May	21
2015							2015								2105	
	Recruiting an Intern: First Attempt															
	Identifyin g a business need	Designing an internship	Recruitin g an intern recruiter	Identifying and selecting a candidate	Validating the selection of a candidate by the intern recruiter			Designing an internship offer	Resolution						Identifying a candidate	
	ACME employee meeting to address a business problem.	CEO and HPD ACME design an internship	CEO recruits HD NBU as his recruiter of intern applicants						CEO makes an offer of internship to GS NBU	CEO calls GS NBU for feedback on offer of internship	GS NBU rejects offer of internship					

Figure 4.6. Locating the Selection of an Intern in the First Recruitment Attempt

My analysis of the data indicated that subsequent to the identification and selection of the candidate by HD NBU, ACME’s CEO and HPD ACME played the roles of “key decision makers” at ACME by validating that the selection of GS NBU, who had been proposed by HD NBU, met the requirements for being awarded the internship position from the perspective of ACME. The validation of the selection of an intern made by HD NBU was situated at the boundary of ACME, and my analysis of the data indicated that this involved discourse and interaction between a member of ACME, a recruiter for ACME (HD NBU), and the graduate (GS NBU).

My analysis of the reconstructed emails in the archive as corroborated by the data from the CEO’s professional calendar indicated that the CEO in dialogue with HD NBU arranged to meet the single potential candidate for the position of intern on March 5, 2015, in the office of HD NBU on NBU campus. Data I extracted from the records and presented in Table 4.31 provided evidence that HD NBU acted as a cultural guide at NBU by providing the CEO, with detailed instructions of how to find his office on the NBU campus where the HD NBU and GS NBU would meet the CEO.

Table 4.31

Statements That Signal the Actions of a Cultural Guide

X Is a Location for a Meeting	X Is a Way of Finding a Meeting Place
I will be in Science, the north wing, room 0000	The Science building is up the stairs and across the open space from the large red administration building and the business building

My analysis of the CEO's headnotes of this meeting with GS NBU at which HD NBU was present, indicated that the CEO described to GS NBU the business activities of ACME, asked GS NBU about the areas of his studies which had most interested him and his career goals, and answered GS NBU's questions about the internship role and hours he would be expected to work while he completed one remaining course at NBU. At the end of the meeting, the CEO's headnotes indicated that the CEO requested GS NBU send his resume to the CEO and that he proposed a visit to ACME's R&D Center to GS NBU to meet, and be interviewed by HPD ACME, for whom GS NBU would be working, as well as to learn more about the company and its business. Analysis of the records indicated that at no time during this meeting was there discussion about the formal or informal learning and development opportunities to be made available by ACME for an intern. During this activity to validate the selection of an intern, the CEO's physical presence at NBU and engagement with HD NBU and his student, served as evidence that the CEO of a private company, had negotiated access to another social group (NBU). At the conclusion of the meeting, the headnotes of the CEO indicated that as key decision maker at ACME, the CEO applied agency to invite GS NBU to a follow-up meeting with "insiders" at ACME. Additionally, these headnotes indicated that the CEO asked GS NBU to send the CEO a copy of his resume, suggesting that at this point the CEO had not seen GS NBU's resume. This suggested that these steps (GS NBU sending his resume to the CEO and meeting HPD ACME) were required in order for these two participants to fulfill their roles as key decision makers at ACME and validate the selection of GS NBU by HD NBU.

The CEO's reconstructed headnotes indicated that by the afternoon of March 8, 2015, three days after the meeting at NBU, he had not received a resume from GS NBU as the CEO

had requested during that meeting. Consequentially, as the CEO's headnotes indicated that he called and left a telephone message with HD NBU, advising HD NBU of the lack of response from GS NBU to the CEO's request for a resume and the concerns that a lack of a prompt response created.

Analysis of the CEO's headnotes and archived records indicated that his choice of HD NBU to contact about not having received GS NBU's resume, rather than GS NBU himself, was made because the CEO did not have the contact details of GS NBU and, thus, the CEO depended on HD NBU to communicate with the student. This state of affairs also indicated that, at this time, HD NBU controlled access to GS NBU in his role as HD NBU/recruiter.

Analysis of the CEO's headnotes from the meeting with GS NBU and HD NBU on March 5, 2015, indicated that the date by which he expected to have received the resume was not made explicit to the potential intern during the meeting. This omission indicated a further frame clash, in which the action of GS NBU (the student) did not match the CEO's expectations in terms of the timeliness of receipt of a resume. It also indicated GS NBU's lack of awareness of the norms and expectations within ACME to which he was a stranger. In analyzing the subsequent discourse of HD NBU, I uncovered corroborating evidence for this frame clash as indicated in Table 4.32 which is an extract of HD NBU's reconstructed email reply to the CEO's telephone message on March 8, 2015. This reveals HD NBU's reaction to the message and his awareness, as a boundary crosser to ACME, of the norms and expectations within that social group.

Table 4.32

A Way of Expressing Surprise

X Is a Way of Expressing Surprise

I am still stunned.

That this event represented a frame clash is supported by the additional evidence to be found in HD NBU's transcribed email of the following day (Appendix A, lines 120-127), an extract of which is presented in Table 4.33 and which was a response to the news from the CEO that GS NBU had by then sent his resume to him.

Table 4.33

A Way of Expressing Disappointment

X Is a Way of Expressing Disappointment

I'm still upset, but less so now.

HD NBU indicated he was "stunned" by the lack of responsiveness of GS NBU to the CEO's request for his resume. This dialogue indicated that the CEO's perception of an unfulfilled expectation was shared by HD NBU, the other participant in the meeting and that they shared a common language in this respect.

Further analysis of this reconstructed email provided evidence that HD NBU also saw this as a "teaching moment" (Appendix A, Line 80). The dialogue was also evidence that HD NBU self-identified as a "cultural guide," who had an understanding of the cultural norms and expectations within ACME. This action, therefore, made visible the expectation of a timely response, which HD NBU was prepared to share with GS NBU. Intertextual

analysis revealed that when HD NBU learned from the CEO about the lack of follow-through in a timely manner from GS NBU, HD NBU reflected on this information to identify consequences of this lack of response, which led him to identify ‘a teaching moment for GS NBU’, and to consider further action—the identification of other possible applicants as evidenced in Table 4.34. This action emphasized HD NBU’s position as a “key decision maker” at NBU and that he was in the position to determine which students of the university could have access to an opportunity that existed beyond the boundary of the university, i.e., at ACME, and vice versa. In exercising this “key decision making” function, HD NBU further demonstrated the consequential nature of the role of the boundary crosser and key decision maker in terms of being able to decide who had afforded access to an internship opportunity or not.

Table 4.34

Statements Indicating a Rationale for (Re)Action in Response to What Is Heard

X Is a Reason	For an Action Y by HD NBU
GS NBU not sending resume to CEO	Use this as a teaching moment for GS NBU Two or three other students I would be comfortable recommending ... gun-shy at the moment

In examining the data, I uncovered that the next morning, the CEO received an email with a resume attachment from GS NBU in which he indicated his interest in visiting the ACME facility and learning about the internship position as shown in Table 4.35 (Appendix A, lines 88-99).

Table 4.35

Statements Conveying Interest in an Internship Position

X Is a Way of Expressing Interest	In an Outcome Y
I am truly appreciative	That you would consider me for a possible internship position
I would also like to	Take you up on your offer to visit the facility
I believe	A tour would be very informative
Attached my resume	Can't wait to hear back from you

This analysis of the email-based dialogue provided evidence of how the learnings of GS NBU, from dialogue with ACME's CEO during their initial meeting, elicited a response from him that included an acceptance of the offer to visit ACME's facilities. Analysis of Table 4.36 also showed that the email from GS NBU prompted an email response to GS NBU from the CEO that he blind copied to HD NBU. Table 4.36 presents an extract of that email (see Appendix A, lines 100-119 for a complete version), in which he identified HPD NBU as the person with whom GS NBU would be working, and the person who would interview him and introduce him to other employees at ACME. The "connections" the CEO made between GS NBU and HPD ACME, and the opportunity he made available to GS NBU to be introduced to other employees, was evidence of how another boundary crosser (the CEO of ACME) provided bridges for GS NBU with another company employee (HPD ACME) and his colleagues at the ACME.

As shown in Table 4.36 through this discursive act, the CEO used his authority to vest HPD ACME with a level of authority to facilitate GS NBU's access to a workplace-based learning opportunity in ACME and to act as a guide to introduce GS NBU to other employees of ACME with whom he would be working.

Table 4.36

Statements Attributing Authority

X Is a Statement of Authority	That Leads to Y
I have cc'd HPD ACME for whom you would be working	HPD ACME will get in touch
HPD ACME will take charge of this	To organize a visit to ACME
	For an interview
	Show you around
	Meet everyone else

Subsequently as shown in Table 4.37, which is an extract from that transcribed email, HPD ACME, when in dialogue with GS NBU by email, identified himself as an employee of ACME, who had the rights and obligations to develop new products and these statements corroborate those made by the CEO in Table 4.36.

Table 4.37

Statements of Self-Identity

X Is a Kind of Employee at ACME	With Responsibility is Y
My name is HPD ACME	I am in charge of developing new products

In the same email, an extract of which is presented in Table 4.38, my analysis indicated that HPD ACME signaled his expectations for the context of future discourse between himself and GS NBU—when, where, its purpose and how—in terms of the type of dialogue *he* wanted (face-to-face) with GS NBU, where (the facility) and when *he* would be available and like to meet him.

Table 4.38

Statements Defining the Social Context of Discourse

X Is	A Kind of Y
Facility Tour	A place to meet
It would be great to meet sometime this week	A time to meet
Talk face-to-face	A kind of meeting
About potential collaboration	A meeting about what
When you may be available this week	A time to meet
Don't want to postpone our meeting too long	A time to meet

HPD ACME's email was also addressed to RS ACME and HR ACME (Appendix A, Line 130), who were thereby identified as employees of ACME, and who were now brought into this discourse with GS NBU. This inclusion of RS HR from ACME, as opposed to the "everyone else" within ACME proposed by the CEO, (Table 4.42) provided evidence of the authority vested in HPD ACME to determine to which ACME employees GS NBU could have access and vice versa. Following the CEO's introduction, HPD ACME assumed the role of interviewing this student (a key decision making function), and with the CEO's authority, HPD ACME engaged in the activities of introducing GS NBU to ACME's

technology and selected ACME staff (also a key decision making function that restricted GS NBU to having access to only three ACME employees rather than to “everyone” as proposed by the CEO as indicated in Table 4.36). There was no data to indicate that within ACME there were written procedures or that the CEO directed HPD ACME as to how to act as a “key decision maker” or “cultural guide/insider” for a new boundary crosser (GS NBU) in terms of the nature of the discourse, number of meetings, location of meetings and the materials to be made available by HPD ACME to GS NBU.

Analysis of the data indicated that HPD ACME and GS NBU met at ACME’s Research & Development Center on March 11, 2015, and that this was followed later in the day by an email from HPD ACME to GS NBU (Appendix A, lines 140-153). In this email, as evidenced in Table 4.39, HPD ACME assumed the identity of an informant or cultural guide to help GS NBU access and acclimate to the internship opportunity within ACME.

Table 4.39

Information to Help Intern Candidate Understand ACME

X Is Information About ACME	Is a Way of Y
A few references which may help you to get more insights into voltammetry and its applications	Informing a candidate
More videos which may be helpful	Informing a candidate
Let me know, if you have some questions.	Making available answers to questions
Attachment: YouTube video link on electro-chemistry	Informing a candidate

Table 4.39 contains evidence of the kinds of knowledge and information shared by HPD ACME as he carried out the role of a “cultural guide” for GS NBU by making available information GS NBU needed to know and informing GS NBU that he would answer questions GS NBU might have. The information afforded to GS NBU by HPD ACME pertained to the nature of ACME’s technology, with which he would be working. There were no records that showed that this was a formalized component of the intern selection process within ACME.

The analyzes in this section indicated that the activity was initiated by HPD ACME without prior approval from or discussion with CEO, and indicated that gaining access to an internship opportunity in ACME involved interactions with more than one member of this group (i.e., both the CEO and HPD ACME). HD NBU, as boundary crosser, had access to these people within ACME, but was not a source of information about the details of the company (its technologies, or its cultural norms and expectations). Analysis of the roles that different individuals played in this process made visible that each individual within the company had a degree of freedom in framing their own approach to engaging with the internship applicant. The analysis in this section, therefore, made visible the discourse between HPD ACME and GS NBU, as well as the actions that were part of this recruitment process for an intern. Analysis also made visible that a participant (key decision maker) acted with intentionality to make available to a candidate (stranger) knowledge that was intended to be taken forward into a subsequent meetings and discussions.

Evidence from the transcripts of emails indicated that in early April 2015, HPD ACME scheduled a second meeting with GS NBU when HPD ACME would be available to discuss further ACME technology and the internship role. At this point, GS NBU was still being

validated as a candidate for the position. Analysis of the transcribed emails also indicated that following that meeting, GS NBU sent an email to HPD ACME, an extract of which was drawn from Appendix A, lines 205-213, and is presented in Table 4.40. In this transcribed email, GS NBU made visible his understanding of his location in this recruitment activity.

Table 4.40

Words Used by GS NBU Framing His Position

X Is a Statement Used by GS NBU	To Depict His Position in the Recruitment Process Y
The offer of working with you	In receipt of an offer of work
If the offer is still on the table	In possession or not of an offer

The phrases shown in Table 4.40 indicated GS NBU’s interpretations of the interactions and meetings with the CEO and HPD ACME, and other employees of ACME. GS NBU interpreted the interactions to be an “offer of working with you” (HPD ACME) and “if the offer is still on the table.” The words GS NBU used made visible a frame clash between the understanding of GS NBU, who characterized himself as being *already* in receipt of an offer, and the understanding possessed by HPD ACME, who characterized GS NBU as still being in the selection phase of this recruitment activity *before* an offer was negotiated (Barber 1998). The analysis of HPD ACME’s response to GS NBU is shown in Table 4.41 and indicates that HPD ACME had told his CEO of *his* decision to hire GS NBU, but that it was to be the CEO who would “get the offer ready.”

Table 4.41

Locating an Intern in the Recruitment Process

X Is a Step in the Recruiting GS NBU	That Will Result in Y
I have told to the CEO	Decision to hire you
I'll let you know	The CEO will get offer draft ready

The identity of GS NBU as a candidate and his location in the recruitment attempt was confirmed by the transcribed records of the CEO's subsequent discourse with GS NBU of which an extract is presented in Table 4.42 in which the CEO offered GS NBU a position with ACME

Table 4.42

Statements Signaling an Offer Is to Be Made

X Is an Action	That Will Result in Y
HPD ACME has confirmed to me that he would like you to join us	I need to put together a formal offer for you

The frame clash made visible by the different understandings of GS NBU and both HPD ACME and the CEO as to where GS NBU was situated in this recruitment activity, revealed information about who can do what, with whom within ACME as it pertains to the making of an offer of an internship. The analysis of the exchange indicated that HPD ACME believed that he had the authority to to notify the intern of his approval to be hired. An analysis of the discourse of HPD ACME revealed the role of the CEO to craft the offer and, in doing so, established what HPD ACME understood to be the limit to his own authority.

Thus, in the process of negotiating with GS NBU access to ACME, HPD ACME made visible to GS NBU who can do what, and with whom within ACME. In sharing such information, HPD ACME was acting as a “cultural guide” for GS NBU—a newcomer negotiating access to this social group called ACME. As shown in Table 4.43 (drawn from Appendix A, lines 205-213), HPD ACME’s advice to GS NBU, “please let it be a few more days,” is another example of how the insider (HPD ACME) advised and served as a cultural guide for the newcomer (GS NBU) who was negotiating entry to ACME.

Table 4.43

Statements Showing Who Can Do What, With Whom in ACME

X Is a Statement	Y Is a Kind of
I have told the CEO	Communication with the CEO
My decision	Power and authority possessed by HPD ACME
Decision to hire you	Authority to choose GS NBU
Please let it be a few more days	Advice given to the candidate seeking entry to ACME
I’ll let you know	Signal of a future action and authority possessed by HPD ACME
The CEO will get offer draft ready	Information being shared with the candidate of the limits to his (HPD ACME’s) authority and the role of CEO

The phrasing in HPD ACME’s email (Appendix A, Line 220), “I’ll let you know as soon as the CEO will get offer draft ready,” indicated to GS NBU, who HPD ACME

understood had the authority within ACME to prepare the offer of an internship (CEO). The email was ambiguous about who would communicate the offer (or the existence of an offer) to GS NBU. This evidenced that within ACME, the responsibility for making an offer of an internship may not have been understood by all of the insiders, including HPD ACME, and that lack of common understanding placed a limit on HPD ACME's ability to act as an informant for GS NBU.

In analyzing the data, I carried out a comparison of the utterances of the different actors across time to uncover further the emerging frame clash I have already identified between the expectations of those present in this particular social context concerning the role and position of the intern. My analysis of the discourse showed that the CEO described GS NBU's potential role as one where he would be "working" for HPD ACME (Table 4.44). By contrast an analysis of the subsequent discourse that was initiated by HPD ACME, when he sent an email to GS NBU to organize the interview the analysis, showed (Table 4.45) that HPD ACME described GS NBU's potential role as one of "collaboration." This triangulation between the perspectives of HPD ACME and his CEO on the position that GS NBU would hold within ACME provided further evidence that insiders' perspectives, as to the status, ways of working, roles and responsibilities of individuals within ACME were at variance to one another.

Table 4.44

A Comparison of Statements Describing the Future Working Relationship of the Intern With HPD ACME

X Is a Statement by CEO to GS NBU	X Is a Statement by HPD ACME to GS NBU
HPD ACME for whom you would be working	Potential collaboration
Is a way of describing Y	Is a way of describing Y
a manager-subordinate working relationship	a collaborative working relationship

Designing an Offer of an Internship

By tracing the dialogue of the CEO, the data provided evidence that an offer of an internship was (co)constructed between the CEO and HD NBU before a dialogue was initiated with the selected candidate to agree the salary and other terms of the internship being offered by ACME. The location of this activity within the first recruitment attempt is (re)presented in Figure 4.7.

March	2		4		5	9	11	April	2	5	10	13	15	22	23	May	21
2015								2015								2105	
	Recruiting an Intern: First Attempt																
	Identifying a business need	Designing an internship	Recruiting an intern recruiter	Identifying and selecting a candidate	Validating the selection of a candidate by the intern recruiter			Designing an internship offer	Resolution						Identifying a candidate		
	ACME employee meeting to address a business problem.	CEO and HPD ACME design an internship	CEO recruits HD NBU as his recruiter of intern applicants						CEO makes an offer of internship to GS NBU	CEO calls GS NBU for feedback on offer of internship	GS NBU rejects offer of internship						

Figure 4.7. Locating the Design of an Internship Offer in the First Recruitment Attempt

Following the decision by HPD ACME that he wished to recruit GS NBU my analysis indicated that the CEO entered into an email exchange with HD NBU (Appendix A, lines 163-195) about the salary for the internship. Table 4.45, which is extracted from that appendix, shows that HD NBU shared his perspectives on a range of salaries, but did not recommend a set amount. The exchange provided an example in which HD NBU, acting as a “cultural guide” who had knowledge of the norms and students’ expectations within the university, offered information from the perspective of an insider to an outsider (the CEO)

Table 4.45

Establishing a Salary for an Intern

X Is a Payment Rate
A typical hourly rate for an almost-graduated student intern would be something in the range of \$11-17 per hour
A range of \$12-15 per hour
\$17 seems high for an undergraduate student
\$11 is not very far above minimum wage
New bachelor’s degree holders in physical sciences are earning in California, about 1.5-2x that range, which to me seems like a reasonable multiplier when transitioning from student intern to full-time work.

The salary information was provided by HD NBU to the CEO on Monday, April 13, 2015, and on Tuesday, April 15, 2015, the CEO made his offer to GS NBU. Intertextual analysis provided evidence that the information received from HD NBU was reflected in the subsequent offer made by the CEO to GS NBU on April 15, 2015, and is presented in Table 4.46 which depicts the timeline and chronology of events. HD NBU had indicated a range of

\$12 to \$15 per hour and the CEO proposed to GS NBU a beginning rate of \$13 per hour that would increase to \$15 per hour. The CEO’s headnotes indicate he designed the remuneration proposal for GS NBU in this way to reflect a recruitment practice in ACME whereby the pay of new recruits was increased after a period of time to act as an incentive to the individual to meet expectations and make visible the relationship between performance and remuneration of employees at ACME. An analysis of the CEO’s headnotes also indicated he offered GS NBU an hourly pay rate for an intern based on the fact that GS NBU had not yet graduated, would be working part-time until he graduated later in the year, and the proposed rate was the minimum wage being discussed in California at that time.

Table 4.46

Timeline of Events Surrounding the (Co)Construction of a Salary for an Intern

Information provided by HD NBU to CEO on April 13, 2015	Information provided by CEO to GS NBU on April 15, 2015
<p>A typical hourly rate for an almost-graduated student intern would be something in the range of \$11-17 per hour</p> <p>I might shoot for a range of \$12-15 per hour</p> <p>\$17 seems high for an undergraduate student, and \$11 is not very far above minimum wage</p>	<p>I would propose that we pay you \$13 per hour for the first month you are with us and if that works out we will increase that to \$15 per hour. We will pay all travel expenses should you be asked to work away from our offices</p>

As noted in the beginning of this chapter, GS NBU subsequently rejected the offer of a position within ACME, partly due to the remuneration. Intertextual analysis of a reconstructed email from the CEO to HD NBU, an extract of which is presented in Table 4.47, revealed that the CEO forwarded GS NBU's email to HD NBU to which HD NBU, in turn replied in an email an extract of which is presented in Table 4.48. This response evidenced intertextuality in that the discursive actions of the CEO are reflected in the subsequent utterances and actions of HD NBU.

Table 4.47

Signaling Actions to be Taken with Desired Outcomes

X Is a Statement by CRO to HD NBU	As a Way to Y
I will forward his reply	Share information
I suspect the commute (and its cost) was the issue	Reflect on information
If anyone else surfaces who would be suitable please direct them to us	Re-initiate action

Table 4.48

Statement Signaling a Reflexive Turn by HD NBU

X Is a Reflection by HD NBU	That Is a Rationale for Y
It's unfortunate that GS NBU didn't work out considering his commute situation (of which I was unaware until he mentioned it)	I guess I can understand

The previously "hidden" condition attached to GS NBU's willingness to accept the offer of an internship at ACME had not been visible to either the CEO or HD NBU at the

time the internship offer was being designed. The uncovering of the “commute factor” represented a learning opportunity for both the CEO and HD NBU that is reflected in their subsequent actions and utterances that are shown in Table 4.49. HD NBU is seen now to have learned that “ACME is a bit of a hike” and factored this new information into his subsequent identification of other potential interns.

Table 4.49

Responses of Participants to a Frame Clash

CEO to HPD ACME April 23, 2015	CEO to HD NBU April 29, 2015	HD NBU to CEO April 29, 2015	HD NBU to CEO May 21, 2015
So now we know! Probably we should look closer – South Bay?	Thank you for your efforts and if anyone else surfaces who would be suitable please direct them to us	There are one or two other students I could send your way,	I’ve checked with a few students, but in all cases they live pretty far out and ACME is a bit of a hike. I’ve got two other students lined up

This exchange made visible that in this telling case the recruitment activity for an intern was not linear and HD NBU had reinitiated the selection of a candidate in response to the request by the CEO to do that. The exchange also, once again, revealed the role of a HD NBU as a boundary crosser (one who knew and had the relationships as an insider at ACME and at the university) and as key decision maker and bridge builder to students at the university who were potential interns.

The analysis identified his reflection on the limitations of his capacity to act in the bridge builder role because his awareness of the expectations of a member of Languaculture 2 did not extend to practical commuting distances of graduate students at NBU. In HD NBU’s subsequent actions, he demonstrated that this expectation of students has been incorporated into knowledge as a bridge builder. The ways the CEO of ACME took up and acted upon the new knowledge will be traced through the analysis of the second recruitment attempt followed in Chapter V.

Boundary Crossers, Key Decision Makers and Cultural Guides

This telling case has examined the actions and discursive exchanges between four individuals and “the board” at the boundary of ACME and NBU during a period of change during which a stranger approached and engaged in discourse with a social group and its members with which they were not familiar. The analysis has made visible the multiple roles played by participants over time during these exchanges that occurred across the entire recruitment process and these are summarized in Table 4.50.

Table 4.50

Participants and Their Roles

Participant	Boundary Crosser	Key Decision Maker	Cultural Guide
CEO	Working with HD NBU on a grant. Seeking assistance from HD NBU for recruitment Meeting candidate at NBU Seeking information about remuneration from HD NBU	Introducing GS NBU to HPD ACME who will show him around Crafting offer to GS NBU	Informing HD NBU of commute issue
HD NBU	Working with CEO on a grant	Offering up one candidate Recruiting GS NBU as a candidate Identifying other students who could be recruited	Acting on CEO's request for information about intern salaries
HPD ACME		Introducing GS NBU to RS ACME and HR ACME Deciding to offer internship to GS NBU	Show GS NBU around Information about ACME's Technology Advice to wait a few days for offer
GS NBU	Going to ACME to meet with HPD ACME Exchanges with HPD ACME and CEO		Informing CEO of commute issue
Board		Informed of creation of an internship	

Boundary Crossers

The first of these roles is that of boundary crossers who were members of one social group and entered (or were entering) another. The actions and written and verbal exchanges of the CEO and HD NBU are evidence that they acted as boundary crossers. GS NBU took on the role of a boundary crosser following his introduction by HD NBU to the CEO, by the CEO to HPD ACME, and by HPD ACME to RS AACME and HR, ACME and the ACME Research and Development facility.

Key Decision Makers

The second group that included the CEO, HPD ACME and HD NBU were key decision makers and exhibited three types of authority to decide who has the right of access to a social group and under what conditions. Across these groups, we see that: 1) key decision makers may control the rights of strangers; 2) key decision makers may act to seek out individuals external to the social group of which the key decision maker is a member and award them rights of entry to the group; and (3) key decision makers may control the rights of access of members of the group of which they are a member to strangers outside the group.

Key decision makers controlling the rights of access of strangers. This study has made visible that key decision makers can define the steps that the stranger must follow in order to gain access to a social group. In this first recruitment attempt, the CEO who was a boundary crosser to ACME, shaped the recruitment activities through which a candidate would have to pass in order to be recruited. This included the finalization of the job description for the role of the internship, which he determined should be constructed with

inputs from HD ACME, whom he identified as someone to whom the stranger (GS NBU) could have access as part of the recruitment process.

Not all of the conditions that the stranger had to fulfill as part of that process were made visible. Thus, the CEO set the timetable for the recruitment of the intern, including expectations of the timeliness of a graduate's submission of a resume but did not make this visible to the graduate and this led to a frame clash. HD NBU as a boundary crosser at NBU required a description of the intern position before he was prepared to identify a graduate student that potentially satisfied the requirements of the intern position and afford the CEO access to them by setting up a meeting with them in his office at NBU.

Key decision makers seeking the entry of new members. In this telling case, based on the needs of the social group called ACME, the CEO acted to initiate the search for a new member and determined where they were to be sought (NBU), the role they were to fulfill as new members (an internship), the steps they were to follow in order to gain access and the conditions of their entry into ACME. In this first recruitment attempt, the CEO, the key decision maker at ACME, approached HD NBU directly with a request to identify a pool of potential interns. The CEO did not place an advertisement for an internship on a job board or on a social media platform which could have been alternative means to identify potential candidates and that would have made visible the existence of a workplace-based learning opportunity to a wider population of potential applicants. In this way, the CEO is seen to have pre-selected the groups from which an intern could be drawn—namely university graduates who were known to HD NBU—and, in doing so, limited the number of potential candidates.

Key decision makers controlling access of fellow group members to strangers.

This study has made visible the role of HD NBU in determining to whom in NBU the CEO should have access. Initially, that was GS NBU, and when GS NBU was not responsive to a request for a resume, he considered making other graduates at NBU accessible to the CEO. Later, after GS NBU had rejected the offer of the internship at ACME, HD NBU identified but discounted two other students because of their commuting distances and then identified two more to whom he was prepared to introduce the CEO.

The CEO was also seen to confer on HPD ACME access to a stranger, GS NBU. In this telling case, the CEO engaged HPD ACME, a company employee, as a joint-boundary crosser and afforded him the right and obligation to participate in the selection of the intern. These rights and obligations included face-to-face interviews with GS NBU and HD ACME was empowered by the CEO to decide the structure, timing, frequency length, and content of his meetings with GS NBU.

Cultural Guides

The third group were “cultural guides” or “insiders” who shared information about their social group with outsiders. HD NBU was an “insider” at NBU, and HPD ACME and the CEO were “insiders” at ACME, as was the board. They have been identified in this study as being situated between and within the boundaries of different groups, each having its own Languaculture—ways and patterns of being. Cultural guides were able to read both Languacultures and make visible to strangers the roles and relationships, norms and expectations, rights and obligations of the members of the social group to which they are a stranger. Thus, HD NBU was able to “read” the norms and expectations of a prompt response to a request for a resume on the part of CEO and see that as a teaching moment for

GS NBU, his student. He was also able to “read” the role description of an internship and, in interpreting it, selected a single potential intern whom ACME eventually attempted to recruit. In his first meeting with GS NBU, HPD ACME is seen acting as a cultural guide when he provides GS NBU with technical papers and a link to a YouTube video link to familiarize him with ACME’s core technologies before a second interview when GS NBU would be better informed about ACME’s technology. When the CEO required information on pay rates for interns, HD NBU was able to make available to the CEO information about a range of rates and how and why these varied—information which the CEO as an outsider did not have access.

This study has also uncovered frame clashes, which revealed the limitations to the trust an outsider—a boundary crosser—can place on the information provided by an insider—cultural guide. In one instance, HD NBU provided information on intern pay rates, which were taken up by the CEO and reflected in the CEO’s discourse with GS NBU whose social situation (commuting distance) did not make it attractive. This indicated that there are limitations to the reliability of the knowledge of insiders and that such knowledge is contextual. In a second instance, my analysis indicated that the cultural guides at ACME defined differently to GS NBU the status of the intern role for which they are recruiting as being one of manager-subordinate in the case of the CEO and collaborator in the case of HPD ACME. These differences are evidence that the perspectives of members of social groups may vary as to role and responsibilities, rights and obligations, and norms and expectations of an approaching stranger is unclear and are subject to reformulation until they become a member of the group.

This analysis of the interactions and discourse of participants engaging with each other at the boundary of a social group undergoing change has made visible their multiple roles and multiple identities that varied according to their social context. Table 4.51 provides the evidence of the roles and relationships, norms and expectations and rights and responsibilities of the participants within a social group and how these may change over time as a result of discursive exchanges between the participants.

Table 4.51

Roles and Responsibilities Within ACME and North Bay University

Participant	Role and Responsibility
CEO	Initiating a process of change to recruit an intern Deciding where (and where not) to seek to identify an intern Deciding if and when to inform the board of ACME Involving HD ACME in the design of the internship role and selection of the candidate, Defining the terms of the internship and not to modify them or negotiate with GS NBU when they were rejected
HD ACME	Choosing the dates, timings and locations of his meetings with GS NBU Determining the information he shared with GS NBU and the format of that information (documents and s link to an on-line video) Determining that GS NBU should be offered an internship
HD NBU	Selecting one (or more) potential candidates for an internship with a company, Deciding when and where an initial meeting between that candidate and potential future employer took place Offering (or not) the candidate a teaching opportunity when they did not respond promptly to a request for a resume Initiating the identification of candidates when the first candidate rejected the offer of an internship

However, there was also evidence that not all roles and responsibilities of the participants were clearly defined or understood by them. This was the first occasion ACME had sought to recruit an intern and a frame-cash emerged in the discourse with GS NBU as to who was to make the offer of an internship. This was an aspect of the norms and expectations, roles and responsibilities, rights and obligations within ACME that were identified as being in the making.

Also emerging from this study is the question of how does a stranger identify a bridge builder, key decision maker or cultural guide that is in a position to support their access to a social group of which they are not a member and, in doing so, gain the identity of a boundary crosser. The evidence shows that their discourse shaped who was (and was not) considered as a candidate for the internship and the terms that were offered to that candidate.

Internship or Job Offer or Collaboration?

My analysis of the transcribed emails, the principle source of data for this research study, raises questions about the intentionality of the participants with respect to their discourse and interactions during the process of recruiting to fill an internship role. An analysis of the discourse between the principal participants (CEO, HD NBU, HPD ACME and GS NBU) over the 52-day period syndicated that each of them had different understandings of what was on offer from ACME to a potential recruit and that their understandings, as made evident by their utterances, changed over that time period.

Initially, ACME decided it needed to recruit an intern in order to increase the resources to support HPD ACME and RS ACME in the laboratory. Consequentially the CEO approached HD NBU with a request for help in identifying an intern and the subject line,

“Intern,” of his email provided evidence of that (Appendix A, Line 4). However, the role description that follows (Table 4.20) was headed “Analytical Application Chemist” and the description was preceded by the statement, “Here is the basic job description for the intern we are seeking.” (Table 4.20). This analysis led to an understanding that an “internship” was considered to be a kind of job by the CEO. What followed in the “job description” did not include the word “intern” or any explicit mention of learning and development opportunities for an intern. In his response, HD NBU referred to “job description” (Table 4.25). He notes, “Thanks for the job description, I will go over it with him.” (GS NBU). HD NBU, in commending GS NBU, also proposes “he could be molded into a great worker” (Table 4.30). Analysis of the CEO’s headnotes of the meeting at NBU between the CEO, HD NBU and GS NBU uncovered no evidence that reference was made to an internship and the only limitation on GS NBU’s availability was identified as his need to attend one class. In the discourse that follows between HPD ACME and GS NBU, the former referred to “collaboration” (Table 4.39), indicating the nature of what he understood and anticipated would be the kind of working relationship he would have with GS NBU. When GS NBU wrote to HPD ACME after their two face-to-face meetings he referred to “the offer of working with you for ACME” (Table 4.41). This indicated that he considered what the nature of a future role within ACME was going to be. The CEO, when he contacted HD NBU about hourly pay rates, received information about hourly pay rates for interns and “a reasonable multiplier when transitioning from student intern to full-time work” (Table 4.45). Subsequently the CEO sent an email to GS NBU with the subject line “Job Offer” with no reference to “internship” but a request for “the number of hours a week he would be available.” This

indicated that while the CEO understood that GS NBU's role would not be full-time, he was offering a kind of employment with an accompanying hourly pay rate that GS NBU rejected.

Access to an Internship

My analysis has shown how GS NBU, a student who was selected by his university professor as a candidate for a position at ACME, confirmed as a candidate by the HPD at ACME and offered a job at ACME by its CEO, was unable to accept the offer despite being attracted to the position owing to the distance he would have to travel to the company for the pay he was being offered. Thus, in this recruitment activity the factor which constrained access of the student to the internship was the commuting distance for the pay offered and this also denied ACME access to a suitable candidate for the salary it was prepared to pay.

Chapter V: The Second Attempt to Recruit and Intern

The research analysis in the previous chapter for this telling case (Mitchell, 2003) of the creation of an internship was conducted by tracing backwards from the point in time in which GS NBU, a student at NBU rejected the ACME CEO's offer of an internship. The early stages of the formation and development of the internship opportunity were uncovered through this backwards mapping approach. In this chapter, I will analyze a second attempt to recruitment an intern that was made visible by the initial analysis of records in the archive, or ethnographic space (Bridges and Green, 2018, in press), assembled for purposes of this study: *What supported and constrained the recruitment of a graduate student at this particular site?*

As in Chapter IV, the framework guiding the analysis in this chapter was grounded in an interactional ethnographic approach that was presented in Chapter III. The framework provided a logic of inquiry that guided how and in what ways I identified who the actors were, with whom they interacted, how and in what social context the interactions occurred, and what outcomes of this process were identified. In adopting this approach, I analyzed the data set from four angles:

1. Who the participants were and with whom they interacted and how;
2. What was inscribed in the subject line of emails that they exchanged;
3. What the chronology of their interactions was; and
4. What patterns of organizational activity were identified (cf., Barber, 1998)?

My analysis of the data was conducted from the perspective of the participant-observer in this study in which I positioned myself as CEO-as-researcher/researcher as CEO (Chapter II). This required me to stand back from ethnocentrism and the “known” in order to address the questions above.

The findings of the analysis presented in this chapter will be compared and contrasted in Chapter VII with those from the first recruitment attempt presented in Chapter IV, and with those from the third recruitment attempt to be presented in Chapter VI. This will serve two objectives. The first will be to challenge existing organization behavior-based theories of the processes by which the recruitment of an individual, in this case an intern, occurs. Like the previous analysis of the failed internship, this phase of the study confirmed that the recruitment process undertaken by ACME was not a rational, consistent, and linear set of sequential processes across different social contexts. The processes inscribed in the records examined for this phase of the study, as in the previous analyzes, led to the identification of a series of overlapping, non-linear, iterative and discursive actions, some of which were types of actions that have not been identified by previous theories on recruitment.

The second objective for the analyzes that follow was to make visible the roles and relationships, norms and expectations, rights and obligations *within* a social group, called ACME, by examining the discourse and actions of participants at the boundary of a social group known as ACME. Thus, in this section, I examine how the actors involved in the recruitment process came together, or were brought together, and engaged in a social activity identified as the recruitment of an intern. As in Chapter IV, I adopted Spradley’s (1979) approach to domain analysis in order to uncover the participants’ discursive actions. This process entailed identifying *terms* used by the participants, which were then used to uncover

the series of semantic relationships (X is a kind of Y) that constituted visible patterns of behavior of the participants present in this telling case.

As with the first recruitment attempt, ACME's CEO served as a tracer unit for this phase of the recruitment process, the second attempt by ACME to recruit an intern. By holding constant the tracer unit (the CEO) and the social activity (recruiting an intern into ACME) within the same social context (the boundary of ACME), I created a basis for comparing (triangulating) the roles of the participants across this second recruitment attempt with the prior and the subsequent attempt at recruitments, their discursive actions, and the consequences of these actions.

The Actors in the Second Effort to Recruit a Intern

In analyzing the reconstructed emails in the archive relating to the second attempt by ACME to recruit an intern, I identified from the headers and contents of these emails, 16 participants who had engaged in email-based discourse during this attempt, as shown in Table 5.1, along with the acronyms used to identify them in this study.

Table 5.1

The Participants in the Second Attempt by ACME to Recruit an Intern

Participant	Acronym
CEO ACME	CEO
Head of Product Development ACME	HPD ACME
Operations Manager South Bay Company	OM SBC
Alumnus 1 South Bay University	A1 SBU
Alumnus 2 South Bay University	A2 SBU

Participant	Acronym
Graduate Student South Bay University	GS SBU
Six Potential Internship Candidates	PIC1, PIC2, PIC3, PIC4, PIC5, PIC6
First Faculty Professor South Bay University	FP1 SBU
Faculty Secretary South Bay University	FS SBU
Faculty Advisor South Bay University	FA SBU
Second Faculty Professor South Bay University	FP2 SBU

My analysis of the records in the archive indicated that this second recruitment process lasted four days compared with the 52 days of the previous recruitment process. This recruitment process, like the one before it, ended when the CEO, who was identified in Chapter IV, as the key decision maker of ACME, failed again to attract an intern into ACME.

This analysis of the second attempt to recruit an intern was based on the study of the 25 transcribed emails and my field notes that bounded this second attempt to recruit an intern. The originators and recipients of the emails are identified in Table 5.2. Analysis of the headers and inscriptions of the 25 transcribed emails reveal that seven potential candidates (GS SBU, PIC1, PIC2, PIC3, PIC4, PIC5, and PIC6) for the internship were identified and brought into the discourse by OM SBC. Analysis of the transcribed emails from OM SBC to the CEO revealed that three had attachments that were identified as the resumes of GS SBU, PIC3, and PIC4. This revealed intertextuality as these resumes did not come directly from the potential interns themselves but from OM SBC to whom they had

been provided at an earlier date. I could only find evidence in the archive of transcribed emails that the CEO engaged in discourse directly with one of these potential candidates (GS SBU) and only after he had received GS SBU's resume from OM SBC. I found no evidence that the CEO engaged in discourse with any of the remaining six potential candidates and so, as such, these were "passive" candidates, who had been introduced into the recruitment activity by OM SBC but did not participate in it actively. The existence of such passive candidates has not been identified in prior research on recruitment.

Four participants—FP1 SBU, FS SBU, FA SBU, and FP2 SBU—were identified in the reconstructed emails as all belonging to a social group, SBU. These participants were brought into the dialogue that took place at the boundary of ACME by others. FP1 was brought into the dialogue by OM SBC. FS SBU, FA SBU, and FP2 SBU were brought into the dialogue by an alumnus of SBU. However, only FP1 was present during this second recruitment attempt. The remaining members of this group (FS SBU, FA SBU, and FP2 SBU) will reappear in Chapter VI when they will be seen as the active participants in ACME's third attempt to identify a potential intern and attract them into the company. That these three participants were brought into the second recruitment attempt, but did not play a part in it, provided further evidence of the overlapping non-sequential nature of these activities to recruit an intern.

Table 5.2

The Nature of and Context of Email Based Discourse Between the Participants in the Second Recruitment Attempt

		Originator											
		CEO	OM SBC	A1 SBU	A2 SBU	FP1 SBU	GS SBU	PIC1	PIC2	PIC3	PIC4	PIC5	PIC6
Recipient	CEO	-	4 emails 3 resumes	-	-	-	3 emails	-	-	-	-	-	-
	OM SBC	4 emails	-	1 email	-	2 emails	-	-	-	1 email	-	-	-
	A1 SBU	-	1 Email	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	A2 SBU	-	1 email	1 email	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	FP1 SBU	-	2 emails	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	GS SBU	2 emails	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	PIC1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	PIC2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	PIC3	-	1 email	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	PIC4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	PIC5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	PIC6	-	1 email	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Data from my analysis of the archived records shown in Table 5.2 indicates that eight (i.e., 32%) of the 25 emails (in which emails to multiple recipients are counted by the number of recipients) were between the CEO of ACME and OM SBC and that OM SBC was the originator of 13 (i.e., 52%) of all the emails I captured and that were related to the second recruitment attempt. This indicated that OM SBC had a pivotal role in the second recruitment attempt.

Email Subjects

Table 5.3 provides an analysis of the “Subject” header of the reconstructed corpus of the 25 emails in the archive that I uncovered for my analysis of the second recruitment attempt.

Table 5.3

Analysis of Subject Headers in Emails in the Second Recruitment Attempt

Subject Header Term	Frequency	Actors Involved
ACME Research Intern Position	5	CEO & GS SBU
Tour of SBC	4	OM SBC & FP1
Referrals	4	OM SBC & A1 SBU and A2 SBU
Your Advice Please	3	CEO & OM SBC
Volunteering	1	OM SBC & PIC3
GS SBU	2	OM SBC & CEO
Two More Resumes	2	OM SBC & CEO & PIC6
Emails With no Header	<u>2</u>	
Total Emails	25	

My analysis of the data presented in Table 5.3 indicated that 23 of the 25 emails in the archive that I selected for this phase of the study had a subject header and, of these, five were between the CEO and GS SBU and included a reference to an internship (i.e., ACME Research Intern Position). Analysis of these emails indicated that this subject header was used first by GS SBU in his email correspondence with the CEO, which I will examine later in this chapter. Within the corpus of transcribed emails, I also uncovered two that were between OM SBC and PIC3, one of which had as its subject “Volunteering” that was inscribed by PIC3. This intertextual tie that lay within the chain of transcribed emails between the CEO and OM SBC revealed a role played by OM SBC that was not visible in his direct dialogue and interactions with the CEO.

The Chronology of the Second Recruitment Attempt

The analysis in this chapter traces forward from the exchange between GS NBU and the CEO of ACME begun in Chapter IV. Analysis of this exchange I presented in Table 5.4 below, in which the practicality of traveling to ACME was discussed, and the suggested compensation was given by GS NBU as issues impacting GS NBU’s decision not to take-up the internship opportunity that had been offered by ACME.

Table 5.4

Reasons for Rejecting the Internship

X Is a Reason for Not Taking the Job
I do not find it practical to travel to ACME
Travel to ACME for the suggested compensation

The actions and written dialogues inscribed by the tracer unit (the CEO) and those with whom he engaged were recreated in the form of a transcript from archived emails and other artifacts in the data archive from which the timeline and event map in Table 5.5 was constructed. This level of analysis led to the identification of 13 actors, who were present in the second effort to recruit an intern. Seven of these actors were *potential* candidates. The second recruitment attempt was bounded in time from when it was initiated on April 23, 2015, the same day that the first candidate rejected the offer of an internship, and was resolved four days later on April 27, 2015, when the only potential candidate who was entered into the recruitment process withdrew from it.

Table 5.5.

The Pattern of Discourse Between Participants in the Second Attempt to Recruit an Intern

March	2	4	5	9	11	April	2	5	10	13	15	22	23	24	26	27
2015						2015										
	Recruiting an Intern: First Attempt															
													Recruiting an Intern: Second Attempt			
													2:31 p.m. CEO & HPD ACME	10:37 a.m. OM SBC & A1 SBU	9:01 a.m. CEO & GS SBU	9:07 a.m. GS SBU & CEO
													2:44 p.m. CEO & OM SBC	11:34 a.m. A1 SBU, A2 SBU & OM SBC		9:26 a.m. CEO & GS SBU
													4:17 p.m. OM SBC, CEO	5:38 p.m. OM SBC & CEO		8:50 p.m. GS SBU & CEO
													4:19 p.m. OM SBC,CEO	7:23 p.m. GS SBU & CEO		
													4:25 p.m. CEO, OM SBC			
													4:25 p.m. OM SBC, CEO, GS SBU			
													4:44 p.m. OM SBC,CEO, PIC3, PIC4, PIC5, PIC6			
													4:47 p.m. OM SBC, A1 SBU, A2 SBU, PIC1, PIC2			
													5:29 p.m. OM SB, CEO			
													7:40 p.m. CEO, OM SBC			

Patterns of Activity in the Second Recruitment Attempt

My analysis of the data in the archive indicated that efforts to recruit an intern did not end with the CEO's failure to resolve the recruitment of GS NBU. This phase of the analysis of the email exchanges indicated that following that failure, the CEO acted with intentionality within seven minutes of receiving the rejection from GS NBU and forwarded the rejection email to HPD ACME, a colleague within ACME, who had helped to design the internship, had participated in interviews of the candidate, and was the person to whom the intern would report. The exchange between the CEO and HPD ACME led to the identification of an intertextual tie when the CEO took the text of GS NBU's email and incorporated it into his own text that he shared with HPD ACME. The email, a full reconstruction of which is provided in Appendix A, lines 245-263, reads: "So now we know! Probably we should look closer—South Bay?" The intertextual analysis indicated that the CEO took up the information (travel distance) that GS NBU shared as one of two reasons for rejecting the offer of an internship documented in Table 5.4.

Table 5.6 is a reconstructed transcript of an email from CEO to the OM SBC and this followed 13 minutes after the CEO's email to HPD ACME in which the CEO indicated where he considered that the search for an intern should be focussed in the light of the response of GS NBU to the offer of an internship.

Table 5.6

Reconstructed Email From CEO to Operations Manager, South Bay Company

Line Number	Reconstructed Email
1	From: CEO
2	To: OM SBC
3	Date: Thursday, April 23, 2015, at 2:44 p.m.
4	Subject: Your advice please
5	OM SBC
6	I believe you have received the insurance certificate late this
7	morning so hopefully all is now in order.
8	We would like to take on a graduate intern for a minimum of 6
9	months with the prospect of becoming a permanent employee
10	to work with our scientist in product development— a
11	chemistry background is essential. I feel it would be good to tap
12	into South Bay or Oceanside. Do you have any faculty contacts
13	there with whom you could put me in contact? Or if you know
14	of any that you can recommend then even better!
15	I believe you take on grad interns—can you give me an idea of
16	an acceptable pay scale?
17	Many thanks in advance.
18	Best regards
19	CEO
20	

Table 5.7 is drawn from an analysis of the CEO's email presented in Table 5.6 and provided evidence that the CEO was engaged in the search for an intern, and that he has acted on the new information acquired from GS NBU by asking OM SBC for help in locating a potential intern from two universities that were located in close proximity to ACME.

Table 5.7

Actions Identifying Where an Intern is Being Sought

X Is a Type of Recruitment Action	Y Is a Location in Closer Proximity to ACME Where Interns May Be Found
tap into	South Bay Oceanside

Table 5.8 also offers evidence that the CEO also acted upon the issue GS NBU raised regarding the rate of pay for an internship. An analysis of the semantic relationships (Spradley, 1979), in which X is a kind of inscribed action and Y is a location for recruiting interns, is presented in Table 5.7. An analysis of the headnotes of the CEO indicated that he had been surprised that GS NBU had rejected the offer on the grounds of the pay rate offered as it had been based on information supplied by HD NBU whom the CEO had regarded as “insider” by virtue of his ongoing engagement with students that included GS NBU. My analysis of these subsequent actions and the choice of location for the recruitment effort in this second recruitment attempt, made visible that the CEO wished to avoid repeating the failure to attract a future candidate by offering too low a pay rate and was seeking in his discourse with OM SBU, as shown in Table 5.8 (drawn from Table 5.6), to corroborate the information provided to him by HD NBU by asking OM SBC for information about “an acceptable rate of pay.”

These actions by the CEO in this telling case (Mitchell, 2003) also made visible the iterative and non-linear nature of the recruitment process which now had a geographical component and began with the identification of a potential recruiter (OM SBC).

Table 5.8

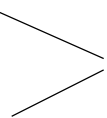
Ways of Seeking Information About Intern Pay Rates

X Is a Way of Seeking Information	Y Is a Focus of the Request for Information
Can you give me	An idea of an acceptable pay scale

The analysis of the archived records shown in Table 5.5 made visible that this engagement was followed by a series of interactions between the CEO and OM SBC that began with CEO setting out his goal as key decision maker for ACME. Table 5.9, drawn from Table 5.6 is an analysis of two semantic relationships undertaken to identify ways of seeking information on applicants for an internship.

Table 5.9

Seeking Information About Applicants

X Is a Way of Seeking Information About Applicants for an Internship	Y Is a Focus of the Request for Information
Do you have any faculty contacts there? Do you have any faculty contacts there with whom you could put me in contact?	 We would like to take on a graduate intern for a minimum of 6 months

The CEO's email to OM SBC (Table 5.5) had as its subject, "Your advice please," and the first line of the email referred to an insurance certificate provided by the CEO to OM

SBC earlier in the day. Analysis of the statement inscribed in the reconstructed email shown in Table 5.10 indicated that a prior relationship existed between these two actors.

The CEO's references in Table 5.6 to OM SBC as someone having knowledge of graduate pay rates and access to a pool of potential applicants through his prior contacts and relationships with local universities and graduate students, made visible that the CEO's request for advice was sent to a known contact with whom he had previously engaged in discourse. The CEO had contacted someone whom he knew had knowledge of and experience with internships.

Table 5.10

Statements Indicating a Prior Relationship

X Is Evidence of Prior Interaction in Relation to Prior Agreements
I believe you have received the insurance certificate
Hopefully all is ... now in order

In Tables 5.11 - 5.14, I have separated the discourse that was initiated by the CEO's approach to OM SBC into the daily segments in the order in which it took place, and will examine it to reveal the intertextuality of that discourse. The CEO's outreach to someone whom he already knew and someone he believed had engaged with interns may have contributed to the speed of OM SBC's reply and his actions to assist the CEO. Table 5.11 showed that the CEO's email to OM SBC was sent at 2:44 p.m., and OM SBC responded at 4:17 p.m., and then followed the initial reply with four more emails within the space of three hours.

My analysis of discourse between OM SBC and the CEO indicated that OM SBC identified and recommended GS SBU as an intern and provided the CEO with an electronic

copy of GS SBU's resume. In response, the CEO asked OM SBC to contact GS SBU and ask GS SBU to contact him directly. The subsequent discourse between the CEO and GS SBU shown in Table 5.12 was initiated at the boundary of ACME to which GS SBU was brought by OM SBC. The dialogue of the CEO and GS SBU, bounded by two days, is presented in Table 5.13 and 5.14. The dialogue began with the approach of GS SBU to the CEO, and ended after an exchange of emails between the two when GS SBU indicated the internship position did not interest him and withdrew from the recruitment process.

As shown in Table 5.11, on the day following the approach by the CEO, OM SBC continued to forward contacts and resumes to the CEO. His actions included recruiting two of his own contacts, A1 SBU and A2 SBU, to assist him in the search for potential interns and asking them to provide him with the resumes of two potential interns—PIC1 and PIC2. As shown in Table 5.11 (April 23, 2015, at 4:44 p.m.), OM SBC also drew on prior discourse with four more *potential* interns (PIC3, PIC4, PIC5, PIC6) to draw them into his dialogue with the CEO. Similarly, as Table 5.12 shows, OM SBC drew on his prior discourse with a professor (FP1) at SBU to make available to the CEO another potential “recruiter” of interns. Analysis of the archive of reconstructed email correspondence uncovered no record of a response from A2 SBU to OM SBC's request for referrals, and no record of a response from him with the resumes of two students (PIC1, PIC2) whom OM SBC considered to be potential interns at ACME.

Table 5.11

Event Map of Second Recruitment Attempt: Day 1

April 23, 2015

	Actors Engaging via Email	Text of Interactions (Excerpts From Appendix B)	Discursive Acts Which Constitute a Chain of Events	Intertextual Ties to Words Written by Others
	2:31 p.m. CEO to HPD ACME	So now we know! Probably we should look closer—South Bay	Describing an action to be taken following the utterance of GS NBU	Refers to the email from GS NBU
196	2:44 p.m. CEO to OM SBC	I believe you have received the insurance certificate late this morning so hopefully all is now in order We would like to take on a graduate intern Take on a graduate intern for a minimum of 6 months A chemistry background is essential	Connecting conversation to prior engagement Describing a corporate aim to take on a graduate intern Describing the internship Describing the desired qualifications of the intern	Refers to insurance certificate
	4:17 p.m. OM SBC to CEO	I mentor an Industry Association Student Chapter at SBU	Making visible “insider” status at SBU associated with ACME’s line of business	Refers to CEO mention of South Bay as a potential place for finding interns.

Actors Engaging via Email	Text of Interactions (Excerpts From Appendix B)	Discursive Acts Which Constitute a Chain of Events	Intertextual Ties to Words Written by Others
	<p>Interns in general make \$15 an hour at the local water agencies sometimes up to \$18 I have not had much luck with Oceanside University students. They tend not be very reliable and unrealistic about career advancement They all want to be “Water Policy Advisors” with no experience</p>	<p>Describing intern pay rates Sharing experience with students from Oceanside University and discouraging CEO from recruiting interns at Oceanside</p>	<p>Refers to question raised by CEO Refers to CEO mention of Oceanside as a potential place for finding interns</p>
	<p>South Bay University has a Chemical Engineering Program</p>	<p>Sharing knowledge of South Bay University</p>	<p>Refers to CEO’s mention of South Bay as a potential place for finding interns “Chemical Engineering” refers to CEO’s description of background requirements for an intern</p>
	<p>I have had a few resumes from there which I will look for. I mentor an Industry Association Student Chapter at SBU and can give you the names of the offices who can connect you with their career center. The student chapter tends to be Civil Engineering students I have a tour of SBU Grad Students and could pass out some information if you</p>	<p>Sharing information</p>	<p>Refers to resumes received from students</p>

	Actors Engaging via Email	Text of Interactions (Excerpts From Appendix B)	Discursive Acts Which Constitute a Chain of Events	Intertextual Ties to Words Written by Others
		would like. I'll send you the professor's contact info too		
4:25 p.m.	CEO to OM SBU	The student chapter tends to be Civil Engineering students Any contacts you can provide at SBU Career Center would be helpful We are primarily interested in grad students with a chemical, chemical engineering background	Seeking access to SBU Career Center Describing preferred background of graduate students	
4:25 p.m.	OM SBU to CEO (with GS SBU)	Here's a SBU Grad student I would highly recommend. He is currently applying for a position with the City of Oceanside	Introducing CEO to GS NBU	Refers to resume of GB SBU

	Actors Engaging via Email	Text of Interactions (Excerpts From Appendix B)	Discursive Acts Which Constitute a Chain of Events	Intertextual Ties to Words Written by Others
4:44 p.m.	OM SBC to CEO, (with PIC3, PIC4, PIC5, PIC6)	I have never met PIC4, but she has an interesting resume PIC3 is exceptional, but has a lot going on and may not be in South Bay for the summer PIC5 is the student chapter President of the Industry Association at SBU (PIC5@yahoo.com) PIC6 is an exceptional sales and marketing person that has a lot of technical experience (PIC6@yahoo.com) (Attached: PIC 3 and PIC 4 resumes)	Introducing and describing PIC3, PIC4, PIC5, PIC6 Introducing PIC 5 Introducing PIC6 Introducing PIC3 and PIC4	Refers to email addresses and resumes Refers to CEO request for graduate interns Refers to prior contacts with PIC1 and PIC2
4:47 p.m.	OM SBC to A1 SBU and A2 SBU	Do you have any referrals for the CEO? I'm thinking PIC1 (I think that was her name that was interested in volunteering here and PIC2)	Connecting A1 SBU and A2 SBU to request from CEO	
5:29 p.m.	OM SBC to CEO		Connecting CEO to A1 SBU and A2 SBU	

Actors Engaging via Email	Text of Interactions (Excerpts From Appendix B)	Discursive Acts Which Constitute a Chain of Events	Intertextual Ties to Words Written by Others
7:40 p.m. CEO to OM SBC	Even better—he looks very good! In order to treat his resume appropriately from a data protection point of view as I did not receive it from him could you suggest he contact me directly and I can then progress	Asking to be connected to GS SBU	Refers to email from OM SBC introducing GS SBU Refers to norms of ACME when handling personal data

Table 5.12

*Event Map of Second Recruitment Attempt: Day 2***April 24, 2015**

	Actors Engaging via Email	Text of Interactions	Discursive Acts Which Constitute a Chain of Events	Intertextual Ties to Words Written by Others
10:37 a.m.	A1 SBU to OM SBC	<p>I don't think the engineers really look at the career center postings.</p> <p>CEO should email the job posting to the secretary of Chemical and Biomedical Engineering. She will email it to the students or distribute to the faculty: FS@sbu.edu Email the posting to FA SBU, faculty advisor of SBU student chapter: FA@sbu.edu And email FP2 SBU She is the past faculty advisor of Engineers Without Borders. Really involved with her students. She teaches Materials, but she should be able to direct it to chemical engineers FP2@sbu.edu</p>	Discouraging engagement with South Bay University's career center for student recruitment	<p>Refers to email from OM A2 SBUWTP requesting contacts for CEO</p> <p>Refers to email from OM SBC requesting referrals for CEO</p>

	Actors Engaging via Email	Text of Interactions	Discursive Acts Which Constitute a Chain of Events	Intertextual Ties to Words Written by Others
	11:34 a.m. OM SBC to CEO	Here's a response from A1 SBU who spearheaded the creation of the Industry Association student chapter at SBU. He has a few good recommendations	Forwarding recommendations Describing background of A1 SBU Assessing A1 SBU recommendations	Refers to email sent by OM SBC to A1 SBU
	4:19 p.m. OM SBC to CEO (with FP1 SBU)	FP1 SBU is the SBU professor who also works for (I believe the Mid Bay Company (pseudonym))	Introducing FP1 from SBU into the dialogue	Refers to CEO request for contacts with faculty at SBU. Refers to request from FP1 SBU to OM SBC for visit to SBC Referring to dialogue with OM SBC
	7:23 p.m. GS SBU to CEO	OM SBC mentioned to me that you are looking to add to your staff, and encouraged me to get in touch with you It sounds like your company does interesting work Can you tell me more about the position that is available? I have attached my resume for your perusal	Signaling interest Asking questions Seeking entry	

Actors Engaging via Email	Text of Interactions	Discursive Acts Which Constitute a Chain of Events	Intertextual Ties to Words Written by Others
	I look forward to discussing with you soon	Signaling interest	

Table 5.13

Event Map of Second Recruitment Attempt: Day 3

April 26, 2015				
	Actors Engaging via Email	Text of Interactions	Discursive Acts Which Constitute a Chain of Events	Intertextual Ties to Words Written by Others
9:01 a.m.	CEO to GS SBU	<p>Thank you for getting in touch and your resume</p> <p>The position we are seeking to fill is: ANALYTICAL/APPLICATION CHEMIST Responsibilities (including but not limited to):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Implement analytical methods and applications · Prepare chemical packages · Operate laboratory equipment. · Participate in development of new analytical methods and applications <p>Qualifications:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · BSc in Chemistry, Analytical Chemistry, Environmental Science · Hands on experience with basic laboratory equipment 	<p>Recognizing interest</p> <p>Sharing of role description</p>	<p>Refers to job description designed by HPD ACME and CEO</p>

Actors Engaging via Email	Text of Interactions	Discursive Acts Which Constitute a Chain of Events	Intertextual Ties to Words Written by Others
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Experience with modern laboratory analytical equipment (preferable) · Basic electrochemistry knowledge (preferable) <p>They will be working for one of our Senior Product Development Managers and with the team to develop and test new analytical methods and applications for our innovative online heavy metal instrumentation</p> <p>We are a small team and I am sure can offer an interesting role in a company which is building a world leadership position where we value commitment and enjoying our work</p> <p>There is a reasonable probability that an internship will convert to long term employment opportunity</p>	<p>Signaling longevity of role</p> <p>Questioning work area of interest</p>	<p>Refers to words inscribed by OM SBC concerning interview activities with Oceanside</p>

Actors Engaging via Email	Text of Interactions	Discursive Acts Which Constitute a Chain of Events	Intertextual Ties to Words Written by Others
	On reading your resume it may well be that you are looking for something closer to engineering so	Signaling openness to graduate's choice	
	I would fully understand if you chose to decline this opportunity.	Indicating interest in receiving graduate's decision	
	Please let me know your thoughts. I look forward to hearing from you		

Table 5.14

Event Map of Second Recruitment Attempt: Day 4

April 27, 2015				
	Actors Engaging via Email	Text of Interactions	Discursive Acts Which Constitute a Chain of Events	Intertextual Ties to Words Written by Others
207	9:07 a.m. GS SBU to CEO	Thank you for your prompt reply	Acknowledging receipt of email from CEO	Refers to email received from CEO
		It sounds like an interesting opportunity to work with emerging technology	Signaling interest	Refers to email received from CEO
		I am curious about a possible long term employment opportunity. What would an opportunity like that depend on? And what do you estimate the timeline would be	Asking questions	
	9:20 a.m. CEO to GS SBU	So our hope is to take an intern on for at least 6 months+ and if they work out (and we work out for them) convert them to full time when that funding (for which I am currently working with potential investors) is obtained	Signaling expectations of time-lines	Refers to question of GS SBU about long term opportunity
		I say 6 months+ because we do not want to take someone on, train them and have them leave after 3 months.	Signaling expectation of term of internship	
		Obviously, if we have not been able to offer employment within 6-9 months then we would understand if someone wanted	Signaling dependency of duration of internship on company funding	Refers to GS SBU's question about dependency

Actors Engaging via Email		Text of Interactions	Discursive Acts Which Constitute a Chain of Events	Intertextual Ties to Words Written by Others
9:50 a.m.	GS SBU to CEO	to leave. I am hoping we will have funding in place by the end of September at the latest so we would commitment until at least then		
		Does that help?	Asking a question	
		Thank you for the detailed response. Again, I am impressed by the work you are doing	Acknowledging receipt of email	Refers to email sent by CEO
		Unfortunately, I am looking for a full-time, permanent position as I wrap up graduate school.	Signaling preference for a full time permanent position	
		If in the future you decide you need someone in that type of capacity, I would love to hear from you	Signaling potential future interest	

The analysis of the discursive acts in tables 5.15 and 5.16 made visible prior discourse between OM SBU and two actors (PIC3 and FP1 SBU) who were introduced by him into his discourse with the CEO. OM SBC's discursive actions with FP1 SBU and PIC3 that dated from the prior year were brought forward by him into his dialogue with the CEO. This demonstrated how intertextual ties served to make visible to the CEO a potential intern (PIC3) and a potential recruiter, FP1 SBU. However, the absence of any records of any discursive events between the CEO and FP1 SBU, PIC3, and others OM SBC had brought into the discourse earlier (PIC1, PIC2, PIC3, PIC4, PIC5, PIC6) indicated that the CEO chose not to take up these opportunities for dialogue with these participants, despite them being introduced to him by OM SBC. Nevertheless, they indicated intertextuality and how this study of the discourse that takes place at the boundary of a social group can make visible the norms and expectation, roles and responsibilities, rights and obligations of its members, who makes available opportunities for its members, and under what conditions.

Table 5.15

Tracing Back to Identifying an Intern in the Second Recruitment Attempt

Date & Time	Actors Engaging via Email	Text of Interactions	Discursive Acts Which Constitute a Chain of Events	Intertextual Ties to Words Written by Others
Oct. 17, 2014	OM SBC to PIC3	<p>Are you in North Africa now?</p> <p>We have an active volunteer Internship program and I'd love to have you come work with us. Christmas is might be a rather slow time, but you are welcome</p> <p>Please send me your resume and what days of the week and times you would like to work so I can fit you into our schedule</p> <p>We have a small [REDACTED] and focus on [REDACTED] [REDACTED]</p> <p>FYI</p> <p>The Alpha Company doesn't so a very good job of managing [REDACTED]</p>	<p>Seeking information</p> <p>Showing interest</p> <p>Requesting resume and other information</p> <p>Describing work context</p>	<p>Refers to location</p> <p>Refers to a document</p>

Date & Time	Actors Engaging via Email	Text of Interactions	Discursive Acts Which Constitute a Chain of Events	Intertextual Ties to Words Written by Others
		so that might not be a great example. You should focus on the Beta and Delta Water Districts.	Describing other companies	
Oct. 17, 2014 9.04 p.m. (PDT)	PIC3 to OM SBC	Yes, I am in North Africa currently. I will be back in South Bay on Dec. 10. Could I give you my availability then?	Describing location	Refers to questions by OM SBC
		What kind of work do you think I would be doing? I'm majoring in computer science and economics, so I have those skills in particular to offer and would prefer to do something relevant to either if possible	Asking questions	
		I've attached my resume		
		And if you don't mind me asking for my research, why do you think the Alpha Company doesn't do a good job at managing [REDACTED], and why do Beta Company and Delta Company do it better?	Providing resume Asking questions	Refers to request by OM SBC

Date & Time	Actors Engaging via Email	Text of Interactions	Discursive Acts Which Constitute a Chain of Events	Intertextual Ties to Words Written by Others
		Resume attached		
			Providing resume	Refers to request by OM SBC

Table 5.16

Tracing Back to Identifying a Recruiter of a Recruiter in the Second Recruitment Attempt

Date & Time	Actors Engaging via Email	Text of Interactions	Discursive Acts Which Constitute a Chain of Events	Intertextual Ties to Words Written by Others
Feb. 17, 2015 5:17 p.m.	FP1 SBU to OM SBC	I am teaching this semester and would love to take a tour of your plant The one we did around two years ago was a great success This is a graduate class with about 30 students	Providing information Affirming interest Identifying who will visit Seeking information	Refers to A SBU Course Refers to who will attend
Feb. 17, 2015 5:28 p.m.	OM SBC to FP1 SBU	Please let me know if this is doable? We are currently in the middle of a fairly large construction project and this isn't the best time. My biggest constriction is parking If you can arrange for a bus, I could probably make it work, but I'm having my own staff park off site	Providing information about accessibility of SBC Providing information about conditions for access	 Refers to rules applied to employees
Feb. 24, 2015 2:28 p.m.	FP1 SBU to OM SBC	If t is still possible to do, we would like to come to the plant. We can try to carpool and park off site. If you think that the plant is in tour-able condition and the only issue for a	Showing interest	Refers to plan for meeting OM SBC's access conditions

Date & Time	Actors Engaging via Email	Text of Interactions	Discursive Acts Which Constitute a Chain of Events	Intertextual Ties to Words Written by Others
		Saturday tour is parking, then we would still like to come		
April 23, 2015 4:19 p.m.	OM SBC to FP1 SBU	FP1 SBU is the SBU professor who also works for (I believe the Mid Bay Company)	Introducing a contact	Refers to CEO's request for introductions to SBU faculty

Some clues for the CEO's decision not to approach these participants, to whom the CEO had been introduced by OM SBC, were found in the information provided about them by OM SBC that I uncovered by conducting an intertextual analysis of the CEO's discourse with OM SBC and which is presented in Table 5.17. This indicated that all six of the potential candidates did not match the requirements for the position of an intern at ACME. In re-entering the archive, I re-examined the initial discourse (Table 5.5) between the CEO and OM SBC to seek the intertextual ties to this outcome with the requirement inscribed in that email:

We would like to take on a graduate intern for a minimum of six months with the prospect of becoming a permanent employee to work with our scientist in product development—a chemistry background is essential. I feel it would be good to tap into South Bay or Oceanside.

The intertextual ties appeared weak, suggesting that this was a reason that the CEO did not follow-up with these potential candidates. I could find no data to explain why the CEO did not contact FP1 SBU given his location (South Bay University) and that he had a class of 30 graduate students (Table 5.15) studying Chemical Engineering.

Table 5.17

Identifying a Potential Candidate: The Second Recruitment Attempt

Participant	Location in the Archive	X Is a Way of Describing a Contact	That Signals a Reason for (In)Action
PIC4	Resume	Undergraduate looking for summer internship	Degree status and longevity of availability
PIC3	Resume Appendix B, lines 67-69	Undergraduate at University of Rhode Island “I’m majoring in computer science and economics, so I have those skills in particular to offer and would prefer to do something relevant to either if possible”	Degree status and longevity of availability Location Interests do not match the internship role description
PIC1 PIC2	Appendix B, lines 99-100	“I’m thinking PIC1 (I think that was her name that was interested in volunteering here and PIC2). Can you see if they are interested and if so have them send me a resume?”	Insufficient information to select (resumes not provided to CEO)
PIC5	Appendix B, Line 52	“Is President of the student chapter of Industry Association”	Degree status and subjects?
PIC6	Appendix B, lines 54-55	“PIC6 is an exceptional sales and marketing person that has a lot of technical experience”	Graduate? Experience does not match the internship role description

The analysis presented above showed how a number of participants came together in an enterprise to identify and attract a graduate student from a local university into ACME through a process called recruitment. In this recruitment attempt, the analysis offered evidence of five activities: the design of the internship, the recruitment of the recruitee, identification of a number of potential candidates, discourse about the internship role between the CEO and one of those potential candidates, and self-selection by that candidate before they were selected by the CEO. In contrast to the first recruitment attempt, there was no evidence of a physical meeting between the potential candidate and anyone from ACME, and the potential intern did not engage in discourse with HPD ACME or visit its offices prior to withdrawing their interest in the role. In this recruitment attempt the potential candidate withdrew their interest on the grounds that they were looking for a “full-time permanent position.” In the first recruitment attempt, which lasted 52 days, the “recruiter” (HD NBU) selected one potential intern, and in the second recruitment attempt the “recruiter” (OM SBC) identified seven potential interns and the CEO selected one of these (GS SBU) with whom to engage in preliminary discourse about a possible internship. A common feature of the first and second recruitment attempts was that both potential interns (GS NBU and GS SBU) were introduced to the opportunity of an internship by people whom they knew, and neither GS NBU nor GS SBU applied for the opportunity but confirmed their interest in it by submitting their resumes upon the request of the CEO of ACME to whom they were introduced by a “recruiter.”

In stepping back and analyzing the discourse and interactions of the participants, a number of different roles that they played at different times and in different contexts were made visible.

Boundary Crossers, Key Decision Makers, Bridge Builders and Cultural Guides and Agency

In the analysis of the interactions and discourse that took place both before and during the second recruitment attempt the roles played by participants were made visible. The CEO, a boundary crosser between ACME and the SBC, approached OM SBC, the manager of the company whom he identified both as a cultural guide from whom to obtain information on intern pay scales and also as a bridge builder with local universities and graduates. The analysis presented in this chapter makes visible the roles of boundary crossers, key decision makers, bridge builders and cultural guides, which participants played these roles, when they played these roles and in what social context. As in Chapter IV, these roles were made visible when a stranger approached a group with which they were unfamiliar during a recruitment process and someone from that social group sought to attract a new member.

Boundary Crossers

For purposes of this study, boundary crossers are defined as members of one social group who have entered (or are entering) another group and, in the discourse and actions, demonstrate that they have acquired (or are acquiring) Languaculture 2. In this telling case, a number of boundary crossers are identified and are presented in Table 5.18. FP1 SBU is identified as a boundary crosser at the SBC, which he had previously visited. The CEO of ACME, as a boundary crosser, engages with OM SBC in a discourse about an insurance certificate. OM SBC is identified as boundary crosser in his ongoing engagement with SBU in his role as a mentor to the chapter of the industry association there. Finally, the data show GS SBU, as a stranger to ACME, was becoming a boundary crosser as he approached and negotiated access to ACME for an internship in which he was initially interested. Evidence

of this is found in the subject header of his initial email to the CEO in which he indicates what is to follow: ACME Research Intern Position. This was formulated *before* he had received the detailed job description of the internship from the CEO but *after* his conversation with OM SBC (as shown in Table 5.12) in which GS SBU reported that “OM SBU mentioned to me that you are looking to add to your staff and encouraged me to get in touch with you.”

Table 5.18

Evidence of Boundary Crossing

X Is a Type of Boundary Crosser	At the Boundary of Y	In Order to Z
FP1 SBU	South Bay Company	I am teaching this semester and would love to take a tour of your plant. The one we did around two years ago was a great success
CEO (ACME)	South Bay Company	I believe you have received the insurance certificate late this morning so hopefully all is now in order
OM SBC	South Bay University (Industry Association Chapter)	I mentor an Industry Association Student Chapter at SBU
GS SBU	ACME	<u>ACME Research Intern Position</u> It sounds like your company does interesting work. Can you tell me more about the position that is available? I have attached my resume for your perusal I look forward to discussing with you soon

Key Decision Makers

In this study, key decision makers exhibit three types of authority to decide who has the right of access to a social group and under what conditions: 1) key decision makers may control the rights of strangers to become a member of the group of which the key decision maker is a member, 2) key decision makers may act to seek out and attract individuals external to the social group of which the key decision maker is a member and award them rights of entry to the group, and 3) key decision makers may control the rights of access of members of the group of which they are a member to strangers outside the group. Table 5.19 makes visible those participants in the second recruitment attempt whose actions and discourse identify them as a key decision maker.

Table 5.19

Evidence of Key Decision Makers

X Is a Type of Key Decision Maker	For A	Affording Access to B	Exhibiting Key Decision Maker Behavior C
FP1 SBU	This is a graduate class with about 30 students	South Bay Company	Controlling access to external groups
OM SBC	PIC3, ... We have an active volunteer internship program and I'd love to have you come work with us ... Please send me your resume and what days of the week and times you would like to work so I can fit you into our schedule	South Bay Company	Inviting a stranger into a group
OM SBC	We are currently in the middle of a fairly large construction project and this isn't the best time. My biggest constriction is parking. If you can arrange for a bus, I could probably make it work, but I'm having my own staff park off site	South Bay Company	Controlling access of a stranger to a group
CEO (ACME)	We would like to take on a graduate intern for a minimum of 6 months ... a chemistry background is essential	ACME	Seeking a stranger to join a group

In Table 5.19, FP1 SBU is identified as a key decision maker at SBU who was affording access to an external learning opportunity for “about 30 students.” In his dialogue with FP1 SBU, OM SBC, as the key decision maker at SBC, set the conditions (dates and parking arrangements) which FP1 SBU had to accept in order to have access to the SBC on dates specified by OM SBC.

As noted above, key decision makers may also act to seek out and attract individuals external to the social group of which the key decision maker is a member and award them rights of entry to the group. The analysis of the discourse between OM SBC and the CEO revealed through intertextual analysis OM SBC’s own efforts to attract PIC3 as an intern volunteer at SBC. The CEO was identified as attempting to attract GS SBU to an internship opportunity in ACME. This telling case provided evidence of how a key decision maker sought to uncover through discourse the terms required to attract a stranger to the group. In the first recruitment attempt the CEO, in discourse with HD NBU, sought information with which to construct the terms of entry of GS NBU into ACME. This study has made visible how this failure to attract GS NBU, because he did “not find it practical to travel to ACME for the suggested compensation,” led the CEO to seek from OM SBC corroborative evidence of intern pay rates that would attract an individual to the group. This evidenced actions by a key decision maker to triangulate between the knowledge gained from different “knowing others” in order to formulate an attraction strategy that would be successful.

Finally, there is evidence that A2 SBU, who was identified as a bridge builder by OM SBC, acted as a key decision maker by not providing the resumes of two potential interns (PIC4 and PIC5) as requested of him by OM SBC and, in not doing so, denied them access to an external opportunity at ACME and ACME access to them.

Bridge Builders

In Chapter IV, in which the utterances and actions of the participants in the first recruitment attempt were studied, bridge builders were identified as those participants who are located at the boundary of their social groups and who provide a bridge for an outsider to connect with an insider to the group of which they are a member. Thus, HD NBU was identified as a bridge builder who provided access to the CEO to a student within the university. In the second recruitment attempt, a number of bridge builders were identified in the discourse of the participants who engaged with others in the construction of an internship. OM SBC was a bridge builder for the CEO to boundary crossers at SBC who included students who had worked at SBC or to others who had previously visited (e.g., FP1 SBU). In addition, the analysis in Table 5.20 identified OM SBC as a bridge builder for the CEO to A1 SBU and A2 SBU, and AI SBU, having been linked to the CEO by OM SBC, acted on the request of the latter to build bridges for the CEO with SBU faculty.

Table 5.20

Evidence of Bridge Building

X Is a Type of Bridge Builder	Bridging Y	Bridging to Z
OM SBC	CEO	<p>I mentor an Industry Association Student Chapter at SBU and can give you the names of the offices who can connect you with their career center</p> <p>I have a tour of SBU Grad Students and could pass out some information if you would like</p> <p>I'll send you the professor's contact info too</p>
OM SBC	CEO	FP1 is the SBU professor who also works for (I believe the Mid Bay Company)
OM SBC	CEO	<p>I have never met PIC4, but she has an interesting resume</p> <p>PIC3 is exceptional, but has a lot going on and may not be in South Bay for the summer</p> <p>PIC5 is the student chapter president of industry association at SBU. (PIC5@yahoo.com)</p> <p>PIC6 is an exceptional sales and marketing 5 that has a lot of technical experience (PIC6@yahoo.com)</p>
OM SBC	CEO	Here's a SBU grad student I would highly recommend
A1 SBU	CEO	<p>CEO should email the job posting to the secretary of Chemical and Biomedical Engineering. She will email it to the students or distribute to the faculty:</p> <p>FS SBU@sbu.edu</p> <p>Email the posting to FA SBU, faculty advisor of AIChE¹ SBU student chapter:</p> <p>FA@sbu.edu, and email FP2 SBU</p> <p>She is the past faculty advisor of Engineers Without Borders. Really involved with her students. She teaches Materials, but she should be able to direct it to chemical engineers</p> <p>FP2@sbu.edu</p>

¹ AIChE – American Institute of Chemical Engineers

As a result of the CEO's approach to OM SBC at SBC, the latter took on the role of a bridge builder and introduced the CEO to seven potential interns and all seven individuals were never applicants in the sense that they never applied for the internship position and were unknown to the CEO before this recruitment began. They became *passive* candidates at the moment they were identified by OM SBC in response to the CEO's request. Thus, in this context, OM SBC was seen to have played the role of bridge builder or connector between hitherto unconnected people located in his professional network and, by doing so, he created opportunities for change by connecting selected members of that network whom he identified as having the potential to work together. This makes visible another phase in the recruitment process—that in which *potential* applicants are identified by “recruiters” to whom they are known and who consider them as suitable applicants for the role of which the recruiter becomes aware.

Cultural Guides

In Chapter IV, cultural guides were identified as “insiders” who shared information about their social group with outsiders in terms of roles and relationships, norms and expectations, and rights and obligations of its members. In the second recruitment attempt, there were a number of instances in which participants acted as cultural guides to outsiders. These instances are identified in Table 5.21 which also includes information the cultural guides provided that informed “outsiders”—their implicated listeners—of the opportunity and the evidence, if available in the records, of their consequential actions and utterances that occurred within the boundaries of this study. OM SBC was identified by the CEO as a cultural guide who sought from him information on intern pay rates to corroborate the information provided to him by HD NBU in the first recruitment attempt. In this case, OM SBC indicated that

“Interns in general make \$15 an hour at the local water agencies sometimes up to \$18.” This contrasted with the insider information provided by HD NBU who indicated that “a typical hourly rate for an almost-graduated student intern would be something in the range of \$11-17 per hour. Since it’s a physical science position, and he’s an undergraduate, I might shoot for a range of \$12-15 per hour (\$17 seems high for an undergraduate student, and \$11 is not very far above minimum wage).” This makes visible that the two cultural guides provided information to the CEO that was contextualized by them. Both made it clear that the identity of the social group seeking to attract an intern (general employment, local water agency) and the nature of the role (physical science position), the identity of the intern in terms of education status (almost graduated or undergraduate) and the prevailing minimum wage could all have a bearing on intern pay rates.

Further evidence of the actions of a cultural guide was to be found in the utterances of OM SBC in respect of students at Oceanside University whom OM SBC considered “not to be very reliable and unrealistic about career advancement. They all want to be “policy advisors with no experience.” The evidence indicated that the CEO acted upon this insider knowledge as there are no records in the archive of actions by the CEO to enter into discourse with students or faculty at Oceanside University.

Table 5.21

Evidence of Cultural Guidance

X Is a Type of Cultural Guide	Y Is Kind of Cultural Guidance	Revealing Y	Z is a consequence of Y
OM SBC	Interns in general make \$15 an hour at the local water agencies sometimes up to \$18	The norm for intern pay	
	I have not had much luck with Oceanside University students. They tend to not be very reliable and unrealistic about career advancement. They all want to be “water policy advisors” with no experience	The expectations of students at Oceanside University	CEO does <i>not</i> seek interns at Oceanside University
	South Bay University has a Chemical Engineering Program	The norms at SBU	
	The student chapter tends to be Civil Engineering students	The norm for Civil Engineering students in the chapter	
CEO	We are primarily interested in grad students with a chemical, chemical engineering background	The expectations of ACME	OM SBC seeks to identify Chemical Engineers

X Is a Type of Cultural Guide	Y Is Kind of Cultural Guidance	Revealing Y	Z is a consequence of Y
OM SBC	We have a small system and focus on surface treatment	Norms and roles at SBC	
OM SBC	The Alpha Company doesn't so a very good job of managing [REDACTED] [REDACTED] that might not be a great example. You should focus on the Beta Company and Delta Company	The businesses of other companies	An request for cultural guidance from PIC3
A1 SBU	I don't think the engineers really look at the career center postings	Expectations of engineers in respect of career center	CEO does <i>not</i> contact career center
A1 SBU	The secretary of Chemical and Biomedical Engineering. She will email it to the students or distribute to the faculty: FA SBU, faculty advisor of AIChE SBU student chapter FA SBU. She is the past faculty advisor of Engineers Without Borders. Really involved with her students. She teaches Materials, but she should be able to direct it to chemical engineers	Roles and obligations	

Agency

My analysis showed that when the CEO failed to attract GS NBU to enter ACME to take up an internship that was offered to him, he exercised agency by not making an effort to negotiate the conditions of access with GS NBU. Instead, he approached OM SBC in a renewed effort to identify and attract an intern. Consequential actions include “inactions,” such as when CEO did *not* approach Oceanside University or the SBU Career Center in his search for an intern to join ACME based on the information shared with him by his cultural guides, A1 SBU and OM SBC. This made visible the invisible—inaction—the response to acquiring knowledge that is *not* succeeded by an utterance or action within the boundary of this study, and provided evidence of “agency” on the part of the CEO in response to what he learned from these cultural guides. Further evidence of agency was made visible by the lack of response of A2 SBU (Industry Association President at SBU) in response to the request of OM SBU for referrals and the resumes of PIC1 and PIC2 and who had been identified as potential interns by OM SBC. By comparison, A1 SBU, the other recipient of that email, responded with referrals to faculty members at SBU.

There was further evidence of agency on the part of the CEO when he selected from the seven potential interns, whose contact details were provided to him by OM SBC in his role of bridge builder, only one of them with whom to enter into dialogue about a potential internship. This was made visible by a frame clash when the CEO did not approach six of the seven potential candidates identified by OM SBC. This evidence is in the form of an *absence* of records of discourse with those potential candidates and so is not incontrovertible. In addition, the lack of email correspondence between the CEO and FP1 SBU indicates that the former chose *not* to approach the latter whose contact details had been provided to him by

OM SBC. The CEOs' exercise of agency was also seen in his response to the recommendation of GS SBU by OM SBC—the discourse and actions that followed that are shown in Table 5.22, when, on April 24, 2015, the CEO and GS SBU entered into dialogue that was brought about by OM SBC in his role as bridge builder, forwarding to the CEO the resume of GS SBU with a strong recommendation of him. Table 5.22 is an extract of that dialogue, a full version of which can be found in Appendix B, lines 126-134.

Table 5.22

Identifying a Potential Candidate for an Internship

X Is a Kind of Potential Candidate	With Characteristics Y
A SBU grad student	I would highly recommend He is currently applying for a position with the city of Oceanside

Key Decision Makers as Learners

At the beginning of this chapter, I uncovered how the CEO, a key decision maker at ACME, learned that the position that he had offered to GS NBU was not accepted because, for the salary being offered, GS NBU did not find it practical to drive to ACME. As an outcome of what he learned, CEO directed the search for an intern closer to the company and took action to investigate further through discourse with OM SBC prevailing intern pay rates. This action on the part of this key decision maker to validate the terms he should offer to attract a stranger to enter ACME indicated that the role of key decision makers can involve learning processes that may be reflected in subsequent actions and utterances.

Key Decision Makers as Norm Setters

My analysis of the headnotes of the CEO led to an understanding that the CEO was concerned both about the currency of GS SBU's resume that he had received from OM SBC and also about receiving personal data from OM SBC as a third party and not from whom the CEO considered to be the owner of that data (GS SBU). This dialogue at the boundary of ACME served to reveal that the CEO had the power to establish this norm within ACME by which all personal data of third parties was to be handled in a secure fashion and not shared with others without their prior approval. In this case, the CEO exercised agency to apply it to the personal data of GS SBC that he had received from PM SBC. There was no evidence in the ACME HR policy manual that these were formal norms of discourse within ACME. This therefore represented a frame clash between the actions of OM SBU and the expectations of the CEO, and his subsequent dialogue with OM SBC reflected this frame clash when the CEO defined the terms under which he wished to receive GS SBU's resume as shown in Table 5.23.

Table 5.23

A Rationale for How to Share a Candidate's Resume

X Is a Rationale	For Action Y
In order to treat his resume appropriately	Could you suggest he contact me directly
from a data protection point of view as I did	And I can then progress
not receive it from him	

Table 5.24 is a comparison of the inscriptions by GS SBU in two resumes—one sent by OM SBC to CEO, and the other sent directly to the CEO by GS SBU.

Table 5.24

Comparing the Records Inscribed by GS SBU

	GS SBU's Resume Provided by OM SBU to CEO	GS SBU's Resume Provided by Him to CEO
X is a way of describing self	Dedicated and goal-oriented civil engineering graduate student seeking an opportunity to gain exposure and experience in the world of professional engineering	
X is the location where GS SBU lives	Address A	Address B
X is a way of reaching GS SBU by phone	Cell phone 123-456-7890	Cell phone 123-456-7890
X is a way of reaching GS SBU by email	GSSBU@gmail.com	GSSBU@gmail.com
X are attributes of education	BS Biology Final GPA 3.2 Pursuing Master of Science Civil Engineering. Current GPA 3.67	BS Biology Master of Science Civil Engineering (expected graduation May 2015) Engineer-in-training
X are qualification and attributes	Member of ASCE and Industry Association student chapters. Adaptable and efficient worker with a team-first attitude. Able to manage small details while keeping a broad perspective. Looking to learn from others and grow as a professional while contributing as an individual Strong computer skills with experience in AutoCAD, HEC-RAS, MS Word, Excel, and PowerPoint Excellent oral and written communication skills	
X is a kind of professional experience	Physical Therapy Clinic Biology Teaching Lab Assistant City University Student Assistant Laboratory Equipment Maintenance	Engineering Technician Oceanside City Company Intern Mid Bay Company Student Volunteer Oceanside City Company Teaching Assistant SBU Engineering Department

	GS SBU's Resume Provided by OM SBU to CEO	GS SBU's Resume Provided by Him to CEO
X are skills and knowledge		<p>Academics: Hydrology, Hydraulics, Sediment Transport, Sustainable Resources, Chemistry, Soil Mechanics, Plant Design</p> <p>Technical: AutoCAD, ArcGIS, HEC-RAS, HEC-HMS, EPANET, EPA SWMM, Microsoft Office (Word, Excel, PowerPoint)</p>

The unexpected differences between the resume of GS SBU provided to the CEO by the bridge builder OM SBC, and that provided by GS SBU himself made visible a *frame clash* that served to identify the relationship between social context and what is said, by whom and when. The education attributes of GS SBU made visible in the two resumes suggest that they were written a number of years apart, and makes visible the challenge to a key decision maker (the CEO in this telling case) of validating information about a stranger that is made available to them by a cultural guide whose knowledge was formed in a different social context at a different time. There was no evidence of when GS SBU inscribed the resume he sent to the CEO or whether it was inscribed the CEO as its intended recipient or before GS SBU became aware of the internship opportunity.

The decision by the CEO *not* to approach six of the seven potential interns presented to the CEO by OM SBC provided evidence of the intertextual analysis undertaken by the key decision maker to ACME (the CEO) of the emails and resumes provided to him by an “insider”/“cultural guide” (OM SBC). Analysis of the action that followed—the approach by the CEO to only one of the potential interns presented to him by OM SBC—indicated that the CEO concluded from this intertextual analysis that only one of was a potential candidate. This indicates the limitations of the power of OM SBC to act as an “insider”/“cultural guide” for the CEO.

On Friday, April 22, 2015, the CEO received from GS SBU his resume and on Sunday, April 24, 2015, the CEO responded to him in an email that contained a description of the internship role. This ordering of events—the sending by the company of a role description to the potential intern *after* receipt of their resume—did not follow the

recruitment process identified in Chapter IV in which a candidate shared their resume once they have identified a role in which they are interested.

The inscription of this role made visible the role of OM SBC, as shown in Table 5.24, as a cultural guide to CEO when he advised CEO of GS SBU's job seeking activities.

Table 5.25

Evidence of Cultural Guidance

X Is a Rationale for Action	Leading to Outcome Y
He is currently applying for	A position with the city of Oceanside.

In his role as a key decision maker, the CEO's subsequent utterances and actions reflect the knowledge acquired from OM SBC when he provided GS SBU with a description of the role that is a re-designed version of that provided to, HD NBU in the previous recruitment attempt as shown in Table 5.26. This revised version now included a statement that the internship had the possibility of leading to long-term employment with the company, making the role potentially as attractive as the role which might be offered by city of Oceanside. As a result of the cultural guidance provided by OM SBC, the CEO, in his role as a key decision maker of ACME, acted to seek out an individual external to this social group and attract the individual into ACME based on his understanding of their needs that was developed through discursive exchange with a cultural guide (OM SBC).

Table 5.26

Redesigning an Internship for the Implicated Listener

CEO's Description for an Intern Wednesday, March 4, 2015, 7:24 p.m. Recipient: HD NBU (Appendix A, lines 1-22)	CEO's Description for an Intern Sunday, April 26, 2015, at 9:01a.m. Recipient: GS SBU (Appendix B, lines 108-138)
ANALYTICAL/APPLICATION CHEMIST	ANALYTICAL/APPLICATION CHEMIST
<p>Responsibilities (including but not limited to):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Implement analytical methods and applications · Prepare chemical packages · Operate laboratory equipment · Participate in development of new analytical methods and applications 	<p>Responsibilities (including but not limited to):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Implement analytical methods and applications · Prepare chemical packages · Operate laboratory equipment · Participate in development of new analytical methods and applications
<p>Qualifications:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · BSc in Chemistry, Analytical Chemistry, Environmental Science · Hands on experience with basic laboratory equipment · Experience with modern laboratory analytical equipment (preferable) · Basic electrochemistry knowledge (preferable) 	<p>Qualifications:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · BSc in Chemistry, Analytical Chemistry, Environmental Science · Hands on experience with basic laboratory equipment · Experience with modern laboratory analytical equipment (preferable) · Basic electrochemistry knowledge (preferable)
They will be working for HPD ACME and with the team to develop and test new analytical methods and applications for our innovative online heavy metal instrumentation	They will be working for HPD ACME and with the team to develop and test new analytical methods and applications for our innovative online heavy metal instrumentation
We are a small team and I am sure can offer an interesting role in a company which is building a world leadership position where we value commitment and enjoying our work	<p>We are a small team and I am sure can offer an interesting role in a company which is building a world leadership position where we value commitment and enjoying our work</p> <p>There is a reasonable probability that an internship will convert to a long term employment opportunity</p>

The CEO's headnotes indicate that the CEO framed the role of the internship as shown in Table 5.27, having in mind his implicated listener (GS SBU) whom he wished to attract into that role whilst having the knowledge that he had acquired from OM SBC that GS SBU was interviewing with the city of Oceanside. There is no evidence in the ACME HR manual of the requirement for the CEO to obtain the board of ACME's approval for this, suggesting that as a key decision maker, the CEO had the power to do this.

Table 5.27

Framing the Longevity of an Internship

X Is an Attribute of an Internship	That Provides for Y
There is a reasonable probability	An internship will convert to a long term employment opportunity

Key Decision Makers as Cultural Guide and Cultural Guides as Key Decision Makers

In his response to the description of the internship role provided to him by CEO, GS SBU expressed interest in the role and asked for more information about the role as shown in Table 5.28. GS SBU makes it clear that his interest in the internship opportunity is based on the opportunity to work with "emerging technology."

Table 5.28

Defining an Internship

X Is Kind of Internship	That Offers Y
An interesting opportunity	Work with emerging technology.

The phrase used by GS SBU to characterize the internship role are provided in Table 5.29.

Table 5.29

Ways of Characterizing an Internship by a Potential Intern

X Is an Attribute	Of an Internship Y
	A possible long term employment opportunity

GS SBU proceeded to ask what would conditions would need to be satisfied in order for the internship to become a long term employment opportunity, thereby indicating that this was his ultimate interest as indicated in Table 5.30.

Table 5.30

Defining When an Internship Becomes Long-Term Employment

X Is a Question to Uncover	The Timing of Y
What would an opportunity like that depend on?	A possible long term employment opportunity
What do you estimate the timeline would be?	

In the discourse that followed, the CEO is revealed as a “cultural guide” for GS SBU by providing him with detailed “inside” information about the company as indicated in Table 5.31.

Table 5.31

Ways of Describing a Company

X Is a Kind of Company
In the late development stages of new technologies
Self-funded by our existing shareholders
Has funding in place by the end of September

In his role as key decision maker at ACME CEO is also seen to inform GS SBU as to the expectations of the company in respect of the internship as seen in Table 5.32.

Table: 5.32

Defining an Internship

X Is an Attribute	Of an Internship Y
	Laboratory and field based support
	At least 6 months+
	We do not want to take someone on, train them and have them leave after 3 months
	If they work out (and we work out for them) convert them to full time

My analysis of the reconstructed email revealed that the CEO concluded his email by adopting the role of a cultural guide and sharing with GS SBU as shown in Table 5.30, his expectations of the role and the factors which would determine its longevity and whether it would convert to a long-term role. The CEO stated that the intern would be expected to work (laboratory and field based support) and that the company expected to train the intern with the potential for them to become a full-time employee if “they work out and [the company] work[s] out for them.” This discourse makes visible the nature of the internship being offered by ACME: A training opportunity with the potential to lead to a full-time employment position and *not* offering a training opportunity at the end of which it expected the intern to leave.

My analysis of this dialogue at the boundary of ACME revealed the CEO switching roles between that of a key decision maker seeking to identify and attract a stranger and that of a cultural guide to whom the stranger has turned for insider information. Based on this information provided to him by the CEO, GS SBU, as shown in Table 5.30, indicated that

despite his interest in working with an emerging technology he was looking for a full-time permanent position and the internship as described to him did not meet his requirements and so GS SBU self-selected, as indicated in Table 5.33.

Table 5.33

A Reason to Self-Select

X Is a Personal Attribute	That Signals Y
Unfortunately, I am looking for a full-time, permanent position as I wrap up graduate school	Rejection of a potential internship

With these words, it was left to the CEO to conclude that the internship being offered did not meet the expectations of the boundary crosser and clashed with his expectations as the key decision maker of ACME who defined the rights of entry into it. At this point, the recruitment process was terminated by GS SBU and did not proceed to the recruitment phase despite being “impressed by the work [ACME is] doing.” This discourse reveals an ethical and practical dilemma faced by the key decision maker/cultural guide (CEO) in terms of the information the CEO chose to make available to my implicated listener. This dilemma has been identified by Barber (1998) and is one that recruiters as key decision makers may face in balancing the business goal to attract a stranger to their social group with the risk that the stranger will self-select because of what Barber (1998) terms as a “realistic job preview” by the recruiter during the interview process.

Barber (1998) has noted the difficulty faced by prior researchers in distinguishing between self-selection and the prospect of a better employment opportunity being the causes of why candidates withdraw from a selection process. Barber (1998) defines self-selection as

“the rejection of a job opportunity because *it is inconsistent with one’s preferences and needs*, (author’s italics) not merely because it is less attractive than some other offer.” In this telling case, the evidence indicated that GS SBU declined to proceed because the internship prospect did not meet his preferences and needs for a long-term employment position to which the CEO could not make a commitment *and* because he had a long term employment opportunity with the city of Oceanside where, as the resume sent to the CEO indicated (Table 5.24), he had already worked as an intern. However, in the concluding remarks of his email indicated that his decision was based on self-selection as Table 5.34 indicates.

Table 5.34

A Role That the Candidate Would Accept

X Is a Pre-Condition	For Considering Y
A full-time, permanent position as I wrap up graduate school	If in the future you decide you need someone in that type of capacity, I would love to hear from you

In this telling case GS SBU self-selected from the internship opportunity based on a wish that such an internship would convert within a defined timeline to full-time employment.

What Counts as an Internship?

The analysis of the discourse between the CEO and GS SBU has added to the socially constructed meanings of an internship identified in Chapter IV as evidenced by the dialogue of the actors during this activity to recruit an intern. In this second recruitment attempt, the analysis of the dialogue revealed two kinds of internships. In Table 5.33 that is an extract of the reconstructed email-based dialogue between OM SBC and PIC3, a kind of internship that is voluntary is made visible. Table 5.35 provides a comparison of the kind of internship that included a statement of start date and hours of work for which OM SBC wished to recruit PIC3 and the interest of PIC3 in this kind of internship. For this to count as a voluntary internship for PIC3, it needed to meet specific requirements in terms of their preference to do something relevant to the studies in which they were majoring (economics and computer sciences) (Appendix B, lines 57-86), and PIC3 would not commit to a “start date” until two-month’s later when she returned from North Africa.

Table 5.35

Kinds of Internship

X Is a Kind of Internship Offered by SBC	Y Is a Kind of Internship Sought by PIC3
An active volunteer Internship program	I'm majoring in computer science and economics, so I have those skills in particular to offer and would prefer to do something relevant to either if possible
X Are the Working Hours of an Internship Offered by SBC	Y Is the Availability Offered by PIC3
Times you would like to work so I can fit you into our schedule	Weekday mornings and/or afternoons would be best
X Is When the Internship is Offered	Y Is the Availability of PIC3
Christmas is might be a rather slow time, but you are welcome	I will be back in South Bay on 10th of December. Could I give you my availability then?

An analysis of the reconstructed email-based discourse between the CEO of ACME and the potential intern (GS SBU) began with an email from GS SBU to the CEO, which had as its header (ACME Research Internship Position), indicating that GS SBU had understood the nature of the position being offered by ACME based on his discourse with the bridge builder, OM SBC. In the subsequent discourse between the CEO and GS SBU that was conducted through an exchange of emails and that included a description of the internship role being offered by ACME, this analysis made visible that GS SBU saw the internship as offering an interesting opportunity to work with emerging technology, but his overriding interest lay in a “permanent position as I wrap-up graduate school.” In his dialogue GS SBU sought to determine if the internship offered a “long-term employment opportunity.” This

indicates that GS SBU was interested in an internship that would lead to long-term employment as opposed to the six-month commitment that the CEO of ACME could make, given the uncertain financial position of ACME and the CEO's reluctance to make a long-term financial commitment which had formed the basis of his recommendation to the board of ACME (Chapter IV, Table 4.18) to recruit an intern to address ACME's resource needs.

OM SBC advised the CEO that GS NBU considering a position at Oceanside City Company and intertextual analysis of GS SBU's resume revealed that he had worked there previously as an Engineering Technician and Student Volunteer (Table 5.24). This made visible that taking a full-time job at Oceanside was a potential outcome of GS SBU's prior voluntary and work experience with that company and was consistent with the role of internships as recruitment tools for companies as identified in Chapter II.

From this analysis emerged evidence that what GS SBU learned from his dialogue with the CEO about the nature of the internship offered by ACME shaped his decision to self-select and for ACME to have secured GS SBU as an intern it would have had to undertake that the internship would convert to a full-time position subject to a timeline and other conditions to be specified.

Social Networks

Based on their professional relationship, the CEO was able to contact this bridge builder (OM SBC) and through him gain access to his target population of potential interns and information about intern pay rates. As in Chapter IV, when the CEO contacted HD NBU, this highlights the role played by the CEO's social networks in supporting the construction of a workplace based learning opportunity called an internship. In turn, OM SBC introduced CEO

to passive candidates for the internship with whom he was then connected. Evidence that these were not randomly selected potential interns but boundary crossers with whom OM SBC had an existing connection, is made visible by his provision of their resumes (GS SBU, PIC3, PIC4) or the email addresses (A1 SBU, A2 SBU, PIC5, and PIC6).

Analysis of these dialogues revealed different means by which companies went about recruiting interns and graduates went about identifying an internship. Common to these activities was the presence of social networks. This study makes visible that while two companies used different means to identify an intern (OM SBC approached a potential candidate directly and ACME used “recruiter” to identify a potential candidate) both relied on their social networks in that process. Graduates, such as PIC3, GS SBC, and GS NBC, only became aware of internship opportunities as a result of an approach by someone from within their social network (a recruiter) they knew (OM SBC and HD NBU) approaching them directly to make them aware of an internship opportunity. In the case of GS NBU, he was a student of HD NBU and so known to him. In the case of the potential candidates identified by OM SBC, they were known to him through his mentoring activities at SBU.

Chapter VI: The Third Attempt to Recruit an Intern

In this chapter, I will analyze the discourse and actions of the participants in the activities of a company (ACME) that was seeking to recruit and train an intern to augment its laboratory staff. ACME was a fast-growing technology company based in Northern California that employs 15 people who were predominantly experienced scientists and chemical, industrial, and software engineers. This analysis examines the third attempt by the company to recruit an intern following two earlier failed attempts that were documented and analyzed in chapters IV and V.

Participants in the Third Recruitment Attempt

The analysis presented in this chapter is based on an archive of transcribed emails, applicant's resumes that were attached to their email applications, and reconstructed headnotes of the CEO-researcher/researcher CEO. From these records, which bound this phase of the study, I was able to identify the participants in this third initiative to recruit an intern and these are presented in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1

The Participants in the Recruitment of an Intern for ACME

Role	Acronym
CEO ACME	CEO
Head of Product Development ACME	HDP ACME
Operations Manager South Bay Company	OM SBU
Alumnus South Bay University	A1 SBU
Faculty Secretary South Bay University	FS SBU
Faculty Advisor South Bay University	FA SBU
Second Faculty Professor South Bay University	FP2 SBU
28 students South Bay University	AP3 ... AP30, etc.

As indicated in Chapter III, the corpus of transcribed emails between the actors in this third recruitment attempt is extensive and Table 6.2 summarizes the participants in the email-based discourse that includes email applications from all of the 28 students (including a duplicate application) that applied for the internship. Analysis of the emails indicated that each application received an acknowledgement from the CEO of their application, and if they were not selected as a candidate, they received a further email informing that their application had not been successful. Examples of these emails are provided in Appendix E.

Table 6.2

Analysis of the Records of the Third Recruitment Attempt

Artifact	From	To	Number
Emails	OM SBC	A11 SBU	1
	A11 SBU	OM SBC & CEO	1
	CEO	FP2 SBU	2
	CEO	FA SBU	1
	CEO	FS SBU	1
	CEO	HPD ACME	1
	FP2	CEO	2
	FA SBU	CEO	1
	FS SBU	CEO	1
	AP3 ... AP13	CEO	11
	AP14 ... AP30	CEO	18
	CEO	AP3 ... AP13	27
	CEO	AP14 ... AP30	18
	CEO	AP3	2
	CEO	AP4	1
	CEO	AP13	1
	HPD ACME	AP3	1
	HPD ACME	AP4	1
	HPD ACME	AP11	1
			<u>92</u>
Total			92

By contrast to the two previous recruitment attempts, this attempt involved many more applicants. This is reflected in the volume of emails between the CEO and these applicants that numbered 92 in total. I conducted a semantic analysis of the subject line of the 29 transcribed emails sent by applicants to reveal that they included one of the terms listed in Table 6.3. alongside the frequency of their use. Evidence of the use by applicants of terms such as “Analytical/Application Chemist,” “resume,” “internship,” and “intern” that are to be found in the internship role description that the applicants received from their faculty members indicated intertextuality. Table 6.3. also provides evidence of indexicality in the response of the applicants as to the understanding and meanings that were created from

the inscription of the job description with which they engaged. Included in the terms used by applicants was “Summer Internship” that did not appear in the role description of the internship or the email sent by CEO to SBU faculty. When triangulated with data that I extracted from the reconstructed resumes of the students who used this term (AP14, AP16, AP18, AP21, AP24), I identified that all of these students applied on or after May 19, 2015, and all were undergraduates who were signaling that their availability for the role was limited to the summer. The expectations of the CEO in terms of the timing and longevity of the role was not defined in the description of the internship role and this evidences intertextuality in terms of what was *not* inscribed was taken up and reformulated by the participant by these five participants.

Table 6.3

Email Subject Line Terms Used by Applicants in the Third Recruitment Attempt

X Is a Kind of Internship	Frequency
Intern/Internship	12
Analytical/Application Chemist	11
Summer Internship	5
Resume	1

As also indicated in Chapter III, my analysis was based on the transcribed records of the participants’ discourse by email, telephone, and re-constructed headnotes and, as in the analysis of the prior recruitment attempts presented in chapters IV and V, the CEO of ACME is the tracer unit as he was an participant-researcher/researcher-participant present in each of the three attempts to recruit an intern. The analysis began with the identification of frame clash (Agar, 1994), which allowed the analysis to be anchored in the discourse and actions

of the participants. Tracing backward and forward through the records from the points in time in which the frame clash occurred, allowed for the identification of multiple discreet phases of activity. A systematic analysis within each phase of the actors' roles and relationships, norms and expectations, rights and obligations allowed for the re-creation of the "bits of time" (Hymes, 1977) within and across each phase. Analysis of the socio-cultural aspects of the interactions between people through the examination of the discourse and discursive actions evidenced by the recordings of the words exchanged between each other, made it possible to look within these bits of time to examine ways in which each actor (as opposed to an organization or a process within an organization) impacted possibilities and outcomes related to the recruitment of an intern.

When a Stranger Approaches

Throughout the chapter, a comparison between the observations from this attempt and the observations from the analysis of the two prior recruitment attempts provided insights into the social aspects of the recruitment process which are not reflected in the research studies identified as part of my literature review. Prior research has primarily focussed on the analysis of organization behavior relating to recruitment and findings have presented recruitment by organizations as a linear sequence of standard business processes. By studying the social behaviors of the participants in this activity (recruitment) that took place over time when members of a group (ACME) sought to attract a stranger (intern), I made visible the roles and relationships, norms and expectations, rights and obligations of the members *within* the group. The analysis revealed who the participants were, and how they came together and engaged in a social activity, in this case the recruitment of an intern, and

with what outcomes. The boundary to the study was defined by where the activities and actions of these participants are made visible—at the boundary itself of a social group that is under-going change (the search for and entry of a stranger) and, as such, differed from other studies of social groups (e.g., school classrooms) that are located within spaces in which the cast of participants already know each other and their roles and identities are already under development given repeated engagements with one another in a common purpose across time and events. In such studies, the researcher, who was once a stranger, has, by definition, gained access to the group and is now situated where they can begin to uncover the norms and expectations, rights and obligations of the members within the group. Research that uncovers norms and expectations, rights and obligations of the members of the group that are made visible when the researcher as stranger fails to secure access to the group is inevitably harder to find—the researcher was not present. In this study, the researcher-actor was positioned within the group when a stranger to the group approached but did not gain access to it, and this provided an opportunity to uncover norms and expectations, rights and obligations of the members of the group that would otherwise not be observed, documented and available to be studied.

The boundaries for this third phase of analysis were established as part of the initial findings described in Chapter IV in which I traced backward and forward through the records from a rich point in the transcript and constructed a timeline and map of the events that preceded and followed it. My analysis revealed that actions within this third attempt at recruiting an intern were initiated by the CEO on April 23, 2015, in an email to OM SBC in which the CEO sought OM SBC's help in identifying an intern at a local university (Chapter V, Table 5.5). OM SBC, in his role as a “boundary crosser” at SBU, acted as a “recruiter”

for the CEO in two distinct ways. In Chapter V, evidence of the first of these was presented in which OM SBU identified a number of potential candidates and the CEO selected one of these (GS SBU) with whom to engage in dialogue about the internship position. This interaction culminated in the self-selection by GS NBU in an email to the CEO on April 27, 2015. An extract of that reconstructed email is presented in Table 6.4 in which GS SBU indicated that he was looking for a permanent position that ACME was not offering.

Table 6.4

A Rationale for Self-Selecting

X Is a Personal Attribute	That Signals Y
Unfortunately, I am looking for a full-time, permanent position as I wrap up graduate school	Rejection of a potential internship

In this chapter, I will examine the evidence of the second kind of actions taken by OM SBU to support the CEO in his recruitment of an intern for ACME and the outcomes of that. This analysis revealed the multi-layered, non-linear nature of the process to recruit an intern that in this telling case was not a consistently ordered linear series of defined activities but consisted of several overlapping and interwoven activities that varied in duration, form, and order as evidenced in the juxtaposed figures 6.1 and 6.2 of which OM SBU's actions are but one example.

Figure 6.1 presents a timeline of the activities that took place between April 23, 2015, and May 24, 2015, the date on which a graduate student at SBU accepted the offer of an internship from the CEO. The candidate lived three miles from ACME's facility and accepted a pay rate of \$15 per hour. I have juxtaposed Figure 6.1 with Figure 6.2 to identify

the timeline of activities presented in Chapter V in which the CEO of ACME was introduced by OM SBC to GS SBU and the outcomes of that over the subsequent four days. This provided additional evidence of the overlapping, multi-layered and multi-phased nature of this intern recruitment process by demonstrating that *before* the CEO was approached by GS SBU with OM SBC's "encouragement" at 7:23 p.m. on April 24, 2015 (Chapter V, Table 5.11.), the CEO had already approached in the early afternoon of April 24, 2015, potential intern recruiters (FA SBU, FS SBU and FP2 SBU) at SBU following his introduction to them by A1 SBU that was presented in Chapter V (Table 5.11).

April	23	24	25	27	May	1	8	14	15	21	22
2015					2015						
	OM SBC identifying an intern recruiter's recruiter (FP1 SBU)	OM SBC identifying an intern recruiter's recruiter (A1 SBU)	Recruiting intern recruiters (FS SBU, FA SBU, FP2 SBU)	Generating a pool of applicants							
						Selecting a candidate (Step. 1)	Selecting a candidate (Step. 2)	Selecting a candidate (Step. 3)	Recruiting a candidate		

Figure 6.1. *Timeline and Event Map of Third Recruitment Attempt*

April	23	24	25	27
2015				
	OM SBC identifying potential intern (GS SBU)	GS SBU approaches CEO following "encouragement" from OM SBC	Dialogue between CEO and GS SBU	GS SBU self-selects

Figure 6.2. *Timeline and Event Map of Second Recruitment Attempt*

Identifying and Recruiting a Recruiter

Analysis of the data to be presented later in this chapter indicated that two actors (OM SBC and A1 SBU) took action, based on the CEO's request, to "recruit" between them four "recruiters," and three of these "recruiters" generated between them a pool of 28 applicants over a period of one month. The data also made visible that the pool of applicants was created and being added to even while candidates were being selected at the same time. Candidate selection is seen to have been a multi-phase series of activities lasting two weeks. The evidence presented in this chapter that new applications for the internship at ACME were being received by ACME while the candidate review process was already underway, and the information generated from the analysis of previous recruitment attempts by the CEO provides additional evidence to that presented in chapters IV and V that challenges organization theories of how companies recruit.

In Chapter V, I identified that the CEO of ACME "recruited" OM SBC to assist him in identifying potential interns by email, a reconstructed copy of which is presented in Table 6.5. The analysis of this email, presented in Chapter V, identified OM SBC as a "boundary crosser" with whom the CEO entered into discourse with the objective of identifying faculty members and graduate students at Oceanside and South Bay universities.

Table 6.5

Reconstructed Email From CEO to Operations Manager, South Bay Company

Line Number	Reconstructed Email
1	From: CEO
2	To: Operations Manager South Bay Company
3	Date: Thursday, April 23, 2015, at 2:44 p.m.
4	Subject: Your advice please
5	OM SBC,
6	I believe you have received the insurance certificate late this
7	morning so hopefully all is now in order.
8	We would like to take on a graduate intern for a minimum of 6
9	months with the prospect of becoming a permanent employee
10	to work with our scientist in product development—a chemistry
11	background is essential. I feel it would be good to tap into
12	South Bay or Oceanside. Do you have any faculty contacts
13	there with whom you could put me in contact? Or if you know
14	of any that you can recommend then even better!
15	I believe you take on grad interns. Can you give me an idea of
16	an acceptable pay scale?
17	Many thanks in advance.
18	Best regards
19	CEO
20	

My earlier analysis made visible how OM SBC responded to this request by acting as a bridge builder for the CEO with a number of potential interns (GS SBU, PIC2, PIC3, PIC4, PIC5, PIC6, PIC7) and a potential intern “recruiter,” faculty professor (FP1 SBU) who were in his network of contacts at SBU. In this chapter, I will examine a second series of parallel actions taken by OM SBC in response to the CEO’s request for help in recruiting an intern. These initiatives involved bridge building (recruiting) other potential “recruiters” (bridge builders)—A1 SBU and A2 SBU at SBU—based on his contacts there, as evidenced in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6

Statements Signaling a Kind of Bridge Builder

X Is Action of a Bridge Builder	That Will Result in Y
I mentor an Industry Association Student Chapter at SBU and can give you the names of the officers who can connect you with their career center	Giving names of other bridge-builders (to the CEO)

From an intertextual analysis of subsequent reconstructed emails between OM SBC and others that OM SBC forwarded to the CEO, I was able to uncover in their identified recipients (Table 5.2). The identities of the Industry Association officers (A1 SBU and A2 SBU) whom OM SBC recommended as /recruiters/bridge builders at SBU and the evidence that he followed through on his statements of intent as a bridge builder to connect the CEO with them is presented in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7

Statements Indicating a Bridge Building Activity

X Is Bridge Builder	Bridging to Y	With a Request for Z
OM SBC	A1 SBU and A2 SBU	Do you have any referrals for the CEO?

I could uncover no evidence in the records that A2 SBU responded to this request. By contrast, the records show that A1 SBU responded. The different responses of A1 SBU and A2 SBU represented a frame clash that had the potential to identify a norm or expectation, right or obligation, role or relationship that existed in this social context. I will return later to an analysis of the causes for this differential response of the two alumni to the request of OM

SBC. In his response, A1 SBC is seen to have acted as both a cultural guide and a bridge builder. As a cultural guide he steered both OM SBU and the CEO away from the SBU Career Center as a location where potential interns might be identified as shown in Table 6.8.

Table 6.8

Statements Identifying a Cultural Guide

X Is a Place	Where Engineers Do not Do Y
SBU Career Center	Really look at the career center postings

An analysis of the reconstructed emails also indicated that as a bridge builder, A1 SBU identified three potential recruiters as evidenced in Table 6.9 in which A1 SBU is seen providing an insider's profile of each of these potential recruiters and why they would make suitable recruiters

Table 6.9

Statements Identifying Recruiters

X Is a Bridge Builder	To Potential Recruiter Y	With Z Attributes of a Recruiter
A1 SBU	The CEO should email the job posting to the FS SBU of Chemical and Biomedical Engineering FS@sbu.edu	She will email it to the students or distribute to the faculty
	Email the posting to FA SBU FA@sbu.edu	Faculty advisor of AIChE SBU student chapter:
	And email FP2 SBU FP2@sbu.edu	She is the past faculty advisor of Engineers Without Borders. Really involved with her students. She teaches Materials, but she should be able to direct it to chemical engineer

Approaching the Key Decision Makers

My analysis uncovered evidence in the archive of reconstructed emails that the CEO acted upon these introductions from A1 SBU and sent identical emails to each of the three faculty members identified by A1 SBU within eight minutes of each other. Table 6.10 presents a transcribed copy of the email sent by the CEO to each of the three SBU faculty members recommended to him by A1 SBU.

Table 6.10

Transcribed Email From CEO to SBU Faculty

Line	Transcribed Email
1	Dear XXXX
2	Your contact details were given to me by one of your alumni—A1 SBU whom I
3	have met on several occasions at Industry Association events.
4	We are looking to take on an intern (paid!) and A1 SBU suggested I contact you.
5	We are a Northern California-based 7-year-old start-up based and following a
6	recent acquisition are working on several innovative analytical instruments.
7	The role is for an:
8	ANALYTICAL/APPLICATION CHEMIST
9	Responsibilities (including but not limited to):
10	· Implement analytical methods and applications;
11	· Prepare chemical packages.
12	· Operate laboratory equipment.
13	· Participate in development of new analytical methods and applications
14	Qualifications:
15	· BSc in Chemistry, Analytical Chemistry, Environmental Science
16	· Hands on experience with basic laboratory equipment
17	· Experience with modern laboratory analytical equipment (preferable);
18	· Basic electrochemistry knowledge (preferable)
19	They will be working for one of senior product development managers and with the
20	team to develop and test new analytical methods and applications for our
21	innovative online heavy metal instrumentation.
22	We are a small team and I am sure can offer an interesting role in a company which
23	is building a world leadership position where we value commitment and enjoying
24	our work.
25	There is a reasonable probability that an internship will convert to long term
26	employment opportunity.
27	I would be happy for you to circulate my contact details and job description to
28	potential candidates and for them to contact me directly with expressions of interest
29	and their resume. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.
30	Best regards
31	CEO
32	
33	

Each reconstructed email contained the same introductory paragraph as evidenced in Table 6.11 in which the CEO, a stranger to SBU, is revealed to have been acting as a boundary crosser by writing to each of the faculty members at SBU and referencing (Lines 2-5 from Table 6.10) a prior relationship that existed with an alumnus of SBU (A1 SBU) and

the recommendation of that alumnus to approach them. This reconstructed email also evidenced that a relationship existed between the CEO and A1 SBU *prior* to the introduction of A1 SBU to the CEO by OM SBU. This indicated that the CEO’s relationship with A1 SBU was not sufficiently developed enough for the CEO to approach A1 SBU directly for help in identifying potential interns, as he had done with HD NBU and OM SBC, although “he had met [him] on several occasions at Industry Association events.” While this statement evidenced the existence of this prior relationship between A1 SBU and the CEO, I could find no evidence in the records of a prior relationship of any kind between the CEO and A2 SBU.

Table 6.11

Ways of Introducing a Request for Help to Recruit an Intern

X Is a Rationale for Approaching a Stranger	With the Purpose Y
Your contact details were given to me by one of your alumni—A1 SBU, whom I have met on several occasions at Industry Association events.	We are looking to take on a intern (paid!) and A1 SBU suggested I contact you

Table 6.12 provides an extract of the introduction of the transcribed email sent by the CEO to FS SBU, FA SBU and FP2 SBU (third column) and compares that with the transcribed introductions to the job descriptions provided by the CEO to HD NBU (Table 4.21) and to GS NBU (Table 5. 25).

Table 6.12

Ways of inscribing the introduction to a job description

Email from CEO to HD NBU on March 4, 2015 (7:24 p.m.)	Email from CEO to GS SBU on April 26, 2015 (9:01 a.m.)	Email sent to FS SBU, FA SBU and FP2 SBU on April 24, 2015 (3:31p.m./3:38/3:39 p.m.)
It was good to catch up with you this evening Here is the basic job description for the intern we are seeking	Thank you for getting in touch and your resume The position we are seeking to fill is:	Your contact details were given to me by one of your alumni—A1 SBU, whom I have met on several occasions at Industry Association events We are looking to take on a intern (paid!) and A1 SBU suggested I contact you We are a Northern California-based 7-year-old start-up based and following a recent acquisition are working on several innovative instruments. The role is for an:

The comparative analysis of the three transcribed email introductions revealed a number of differences. In the email to HD NBU (a recruiter), evidence is provided that a prior relationship existed between the CEO and HD NBU in the statement by the CEO, “It was good to catch up with you this evening,” and this was borne out by further evidence presented in Chapter IV of a prior working relationship. In his email to GS SBU (a potential intern), the CEO made reference to a previous dialogue with the GS SBU and the evidence presented in Chapter V indicated that this had been facilitated by a prior introduction from OM SBC, the bridge builder and boundary crosser at SBU. In this third recruitment attempt in which the CEO wrote to three faculty members with whom he was a stranger and whose contact details (email addresses) he had been supplied by the bridge builder, A1 SBU, the

action taken by the CEO to introduce his company was a more expansive than those examined in his discourse with HD NBU and GS SBU. In addition, the job description signaled that the internship was remunerated. The CEO headnotes indicated he emphasized this to anticipate any faculty member's concerns about their students working for free. By comparing and contrasting the dialogue of the CEO with these three participants evidence is provided that the CEO tailored his discourse to his anticipated "implicated listeners"—three key decision makers at SBU based on whether he had prior acquaintance with them. Table 6.13 shows the semiotic relationships in the lengthier introduction.

Table 6.13

Statements Introducing a Stranger to a Stranger

X Is a Way of Introducing a Stranger to a Stranger	X Is Way of Signaling Y
Your contact details were given to me by one of your alumni—A1 SBU, whom I have met on several occasions at Industry Association events	A prior relationship with a bridge builder who was known to a stranger
We are looking to take on an intern (paid!)	The purpose of email to the stranger and a feature of the internship being offered
A1 SBU suggested I contact you	The reason for approaching the stranger
We are a Northern California-based 7-year-old start-up based and following a recent acquisition are working on several innovative technologies	Location and proximity of the company to SBU History of company and nature of its activities

Further analysis of the transcribed emails in which the description of the internship role was inscribed is presented in Table 6.14 (which is an extract of Table 6.10 and Table 5.25) and revealed the intentionality of the CEO's discursive interaction with GS SBU and

SBU faculty, and how this was shaped by the social context in which the discourse took place.

Table 6.14

Statement Describing an Internship

X Is a Way of Describing an Internship	To Signal Y
A reasonable probability that an internship will convert to long term employment opportunity	The prospect of long term employment after the internship

Analysis of the CEO's headnotes indicated that in his dialogue with GS SBU he had included this phrase as a means to improve the attractiveness of the internship offer at ACME in comparison to an offer of full-time employment with city of Oceanside that OM SBC had told the CEO that GS SBU was considering. The CEO's headnotes indicated that in his discourse with SBU faculty, both the offer of a paid internship and the possibility that ACME would offer a long-term employment to an intern were actions intended to secure the support of the three faculty members who would then communicate the internship opportunity at ACME to their students who would be attracted to apply for it. In this third recruitment attempt, by comparison to the two previous attempts, the CEO made transparent that the intern would be paid and the headnotes of the CEO indicated that he introduced this into the dialogue to anticipate possible faculty concerns given an on-going public debate about the equity of unpaid internships (Akst, 2010).

Finally, as evidenced in Table 6.15, the CEO signaled his expectation to SBU faculty that, as a key decision maker at ACME, he expected to be contacted directly and to receive applications and resumes from applicants for the internship.

Table 6.15

Statement Indicating How to Apply for an Internship

X Is a Way of Signaling a Reason	To Take an Action Y	With the Outcome Z
I would be happy for you	To circulate my contact details and job description to potential candidates	To contact me directly with expressions of interest and their resume

In my analysis I proceeded to compare and contrast the three version of the transcribed email containing a description of the internship role that were sent by the CEO to HD NBU, GS NBU and the three faculty members at SBU. This comparison is presented in Table 6.16 and revealed a number of differences which are highlighted in italics. The transcribed email of the third recruitment attempt was seen to differ substantially in the statements made by the CEO from those of the previous two recruitment attempts in which the CEO had been placed in direct contact with the potential interns by HD NBU and OM SBU respectively. In those two instances, the CEO had already been introduced to and entered into discourse with the potential intern candidates, GS NBU and GS SBU, *before* they submitted their resumes and the CEO and ACME was known by HD NBU. The analysis presented in Table 6.16 made visible that a written expression of interest had *not* been an explicit requirement in the first two recruitment attempts and is evidence of how the social context of this recruitment attempt, in which a stranger (CEO) of Languaculture 1 was attempting to cross a boundary (SBU) and enter a social context in which he did not have a prior relationship or prior knowledge of the potential recruiters or the potential applicants, shaped the nature of the CEO's discourse with SBU faculty of Languaculture 2 when

compared to the CEO's discourse with individuals to whom he was not a stranger. This social context was also seen to have shaped the CEO's (ACME key decision maker) expectations of what he expected of an approaching stranger—an aspiring boundary crosser who was an applicant from SBU—in terms of how they would need to present to themselves at the boundary of ACME to be considered for entry.

This discourse at the boundary of ACME revealed the existence of a bridge-builder (A1 SBU), the social context in which a stranger (the CEO of ACME) was seeking to gain access to a social group (SBU) and the strategy he used to achieve that—offering to the gatekeepers (SBU faculty members) of that social group the opportunity of a paid internship for one of their members.

Table 6.16

A Comparison of Descriptions of an Internship Role at ACME

Description Sent to HD NBU on March 4, 2015 (7:24 p.m.)	Description Sent to GS SBU on April 26, 2015 (9:01 a.m.)	Description Sent to SBU Faculty on April 24, 2015 (3:31 p.m./3:37 p.m./3:39 p.m.)
<i>It was good to catch up with you this evening Here is the basic job description for the intern we are seeking:</i>	<i>Thank you for getting in touch and your resume The position we are seeking to fill is:</i>	<i>Your contact details were given to me by one of your alumni—AI ABU, whom I have met on several occasions at Industry Association events. We are looking to take on a intern (paid!) and AI SBU suggested I contact you. We are a Northern California- based 7-year-old start-up based and following a recent acquisition are working on several innovative analytical instruments. The role is for an:</i>
ANALYTICAL/ APPLICATION CHEMIST	ANALYTICAL/ APPLICATION CHEMIST	ANALYTICAL/ APPLICATION CHEMIST
Responsibilities (including but not limited to): · Implement analytical methods and applications · Prepare chemical packages · Operate laboratory equipment · Participate in development of new analytical methods and applications	Responsibilities (including but not limited to): · Implement analytical methods and applications · Prepare chemical packages · Operate laboratory equipment · Participate in development of new analytical methods and applications	Responsibilities (including but not limited to): · Implement analytical methods and applications Prepare chemical packages · Operate laboratory equipment · Participate in development of new analytical methods and applications
Qualifications: · BSc in Chemistry, Analytical Chemistry, Environmental Science · Hands-on experience with basic laboratory equipment · Experience with modern laboratory analytical equipment (preferable); · Basic electrochemistry knowledge (preferable)	Qualifications: · BSc in Chemistry, Analytical Chemistry, Environmental Science · Hands-on experience with basic laboratory equipment · Experience with modern laboratory analytical equipment (preferable); · Basic electrochemistry knowledge (preferable)	Qualifications: · BSc in Chemistry, Analytical Chemistry, Environmental Science · Hands-on experience with basic laboratory equipment · Experience with modern laboratory analytical equipment (preferable); · Basic electrochemistry knowledge (preferable)
They will be working for <i>HPD ACME</i> and with the team to develop and test new analytical methods and applications for our	They will be working for one of our <i>Senior Product Development Managers</i> and with the team to develop and test new analytical methods and applications for our	They will be working for one of <i>Senior Product Development Managers</i> and with the team to develop and test new analytical methods and applications for our

Description Sent to HD NBU on March 4, 2015 (7:24 p.m.)	Description Sent to GS SBU on April 26, 2015 (9:01 a.m.)	Description Sent to SBU Faculty on April 24, 2015 (3:31 p.m./3:37 p.m./3:39 p.m.)
innovative online heavy metal instrumentation	innovative online heavy metal instrumentation	innovative online heavy metal instrumentation
We are a small team and I am sure can offer an interesting role in a company which is building a world leadership position where we value commitment and enjoying our work	We are a small team and I am sure can offer an interesting role in a company which is building a world leadership position where we value commitment and enjoying our work	We are a small team and I am sure can offer an interesting role in a company which is building a world leadership position where we value commitment and enjoying our work
	<i>There is a reasonable probability that an internship will convert to long term employment opportunity</i>	<i>There is a reasonable probability that an internship will convert to long term employment opportunity</i>
		<i>I would be happy for you to circulate my contact details and job description to potential candidates and for them to contact me directly with expressions of interest and their resume. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me</i>

Boundary Crossing

The timing and response of each SBU Faculty Member to the CEO's email is provided in Table 6.17.

Table 6.17

X Is a Kind of Response to a Request for Assistance in Identifying an Intern

FS SBU Friday, April 24, 2015 (3:58 p.m.)	FP2 SBU Saturday, April 25, 2015 (3:23 a.m.)	FA SBU Monday, April 27, 2015 (11:20 a.m.)
Sure, I can pass this onto Chemical Engineering Students	Thanks for sending this. I will let the students know Postscript: (Currently visiting scholar at University of Southern India)	I will pass it on to the materials engineering list as well as pass it to the chemistry chair

Table 6.17 indicates that FS SBU responded within 27 minutes of receiving the CEO's email that was sent at 3:31 p.m., and FA SBU responded on the following Monday. FP2 SBU responded at 3:23 a.m. (Pacific Time) on Saturday, April 23, and this timing gave rise to a frame clash given the unexpected time of day of that response. Further examination of FP2 SBU's transcribed email reveals that it had included the statement: "Currently visiting scholar at University of Southern India." This would indicate that, when triangulated with the International Clock, the reply was sent from India where the local time was early Sunday afternoon.

In the extracts of the transcribed emails presented in Table 6.17, all three faculty members are seen to have accepted the approach of the stranger and taken on the role of key decision makers in choosing to whom they forwarded the CEO's email. They also acted as

bridge builders between the CEO and those students at SBU to whom they forwarded his email, as he had requested. This is supported by the evidence presented in Table 6.18, which is derived from an intertextual analysis I undertook of the discourse of a student who, in applying for the position of intern, included the email they had received from FA SBU. The time stamp on the transcribed email showed it was sent to students at 11:22 a.m., two minutes after FA SBU had acknowledged the CEO's initial email and confirmed they would forward its content to students.

Table 6.18.

A Way of Signaling a Means to an End Internship Opportunity

X Is a Reason	For Doing Y
If you are interested in applying to the internship below	Contact the CEO directly

Creating an Applicant Pool

The creation of a pool of internship applicants (boundary crossers) began when the three faculty members who had been contacted by the CEO forwarded his email to students, and when the students acted upon the information they had received by sending an expression of interest and their resume to the CEO. Based on an analysis of the CEO's headnotes, only one student applicant (AP5) called the CEO to discuss the internship position before submitting an application as the student wanted to have more information about what was involved in the internship than had been communicated in the job description. The questions asked by the potential applicant are summarized in Table 6.19.

Table 6.19

Topical Analysis of Student Questions About the Internship

X Is the Topical Analysis of Questions About the Internship
Graduate or undergraduate position
Start date
Hours of work per week
Closing date for applications

The topics raised by the student depicted a frame clash in which AP5 sought to make visible what the CEO had left unsaid in his description of the internship role. The CEO's headnotes indicated that in this discourse he learned from AP5 that the term BSc used in the job description was not understood by him and that information on other parameters shown in Table 6.19 were missing. Thus, as key decision maker at ACME, its CEO had not made visible to strangers with a potential interest to enter ACME, all of the aspects of the internship in terms of the norms and expectations, right and obligations, roles and relationships within ACME and needed by the stranger to determine whether they would wish to seek entry to ACME and would be qualified for the internship on offer. The discourse that took place at the boundary of ACME between the CEO and AP5 served to make visible some of the norms and expectations within ACME.

Confirmation of the telephone conversation is provided in the email application sent later that day to the CEO by AP5, a full transcript of which is provided in Appendix C, lines 91-102, and extracts of which are presented in tables 6.20 and 6.21. Analysis of the statements in Table 6.21 provide corroboratory evidence that AP5 approached the CEO directly by phone and engaged in a direct conversation with him.

Table 6.20

A Statement Confirming a Prior Dialogue

My name is AP5 and I spoke to you over the phone regarding my interests in the open Analytical/Application Chemist position at ACME

Analysis of the CEO's headnotes indicated that he was very surprised to receive the call and, as such, this represented a frame clash because he had not expected applicants to contact him by phone but rather by email. The form in which the CEO expected a direct approach to be made by applicants had not been made explicit in the role description for the internship sent to SBU faculty (Table 6.16). However, analysis of the CEO's email to faculty members that they forwarded to students included the CEO's complete contact details, revealed that it included the CEO's office telephone number.

Table 6.21 is a further extract from the same re-constructed email from AP5 to the CEO and evidenced that what AP5 had learned from the telephone conversation with the CEO earlier in the day concerning availability and hours of work and was reflected in their subsequent utterances on this matter in AP5's email to the CEO. Within the archive I could find no evidence of any other applicant addressing the issue of the hours that they would be able to work, which indicated that the utterances of AP5 were a reflection of that earlier conversation with the CEO and, as such, revealed intertextuality. This provides evidence that in this telling case it was the student who defined their availability to participate in the internship being offered by ACME and it was the student who interwove that with their formal education activities.

Table 6.21

Statements Made by a Graduate in Response to an Internship Opportunity

X Is a Way of Describing an Internship	Signaling Y
My schedule of availability is full-time over the summer and can work during the Fall Semester too	Availability
My only requirement is that I am available to attend evening Masters class at SJSU, which are usually scheduled to start from 6 p.m. – 9 p.m.	Availability Academic Status

Analysis of the data indicates that the first application arrived at 12:37 p.m. on Monday April 27, 2015. The timing of all the applications received over the following four-week period are detailed in Table 6.22, along with the faculty member who had alerted them (if cited in the applicant's application) to the internship opportunity and the degree status and subject.

Table 6.22

Applicants, Faculty Member Cited, Degree Subject and Status and Timing of Internship Applications

Identity	Faculty Member Cited	Degree Subject and Status	Time & Date of Application
AP3	No citation	CE (G)	12:37 p.m. April 27, 2015
AP4	No citation	CE (G)	3:33 p.m. April 27, 2015
AP5	No citation	CE (G)	3:55 p.m. April 27, 2015
AP6	FA SBU	CE (G)	4:24 p.m. April 27, 2015
AP7	No citation	CE (G)	5:30 p.m. April 27, 2015
AP8	FA SBU	CE (G)	11:36 p.m. April 27, 2015
AP9	FA SBU	CE (G)	11:05 a.m. April 28, 2015
AP10	No citation	CE (G)	4:47 p.m. April 28, 2015
AP11	No citation	MSE (G)	10:05 a.m. April 29, 2015
AP12	FA SBU	CE(G)	12:02 p.m. April 29, 2015

AP13	No citation	ME (G)	10:46 p.m. May 1, 2015
AP14	No citation	BME (U)	2:23 p.m. May 19, 2015
AP15	FP2 SBU	CE (U)	2:48 p.m. May 19, 2015
AP16	FP2 SBU	CE (U)	2:50 p.m. May 19, 2015
AP17	FP2 SBU	CE (U)	3:05 p.m. May 19, 2015
AP18	FP2 SBU	CE (U)	3:11 p.m. May 19, 2015
AP19	FP2 SBU	ME (U)	3:22 p.m. May 19, 2015
AP20	No citation	BME (U)	5:10 p.m. May 19, 2015
AP21	No citation	CE (U)	5:34 p.m. May 19, 2015
AP22	No citation	BME (U)	9:21 p.m. May 19, 2015
AP23	No citation	CE (U)	12:55 a.m. May 20, 2015
AP24	No citation	CE (U)	8:32 a.m. May 20, 2015
AP25	FP2 SBU	CE (U)	10:31 a.m. May 20, 2015
AP26	FP2 SBU	CE (U)	11:29 a.m. May 20, 2015
AP6 (Repeat)	No citation	CE (G)	4:01 p.m. May 20, 2015
AP27	No citation	BME (U)	4:49 p.m. May 20, 2015
AP28	FP2 SBU	CE (U)	9:57 a.m. May 22, 2015
AP29	FP2 SBU	CE (U)	7:13 p.m. May 22, 2015
AP30	No citation	CE (G)	11:49 a.m. May 27, 2015

Key: CE= Chemical Engineering; BME=Biomedical Engineering; ME=Mechanical Engineering; MSE=Materials and Systems Engineering; U=Undergraduate; G=Graduate

In analyzing this data, a pattern emerged in the phasing of student's applications as shown in Table 6.23.

Table 6.23

Application Date and Intern Application Numbers from SBU

Date of Application	Number of Applications
Monday, April 27, 2015	6
Tuesday, April 28, 2015	2
Wednesday, April 29, 2015	2
Thursday, May 1, 2015	1
Applications (April 27-May 1, 2015)	11
Tuesday, May 19, 2015	9 ^a
Wednesday, May 20, 2015	6
Friday, May 22, 2015	2
Wednesday, May 27 2015	1
Applications (May 19-27, 2015)	18 ^a
Total Applications (April 27–May 27, 2015)	29 ^a

^a Includes one repeat application from the period Monday, April 27, 2015, to Thursday, May 1, 2015.

Candidate responses to learning that there was a potential internship open to them were received by the CEO in two clearly distinguishable cohorts. Eleven candidates responded before May 1, 2015, and 18 between May 19, 2015, and May 27, 2015. There was one applicant (AP6) who applied twice. Of the 11 applications in the first cohort, six were received within 12 hours of the acknowledgement from FA SBU to the email from the CEO. Of the 11 applicants between April 27, 2015, and May 1, 2015, four identified FA SBU as the faculty member who had alerted them to the internship opportunity. No other faculty members could be identified in the reconstructed email records. Applications from

nine of the 18 students who applied on or after May 19, 2015, identified FP2 SBU as the faculty member who had alerted them to the internship opportunity. No other faculty members were identified in the records. Thus, a significant proportion of the records of candidate applications (30% in the first cohort and 50% of the second cohort) identified a single faculty member in their application. In the second cohort's applications, only FP2 SBU is identified in the records of candidate applications. Of the 18 applications received after on or after May 19, 2015, nine were received on May 19, 2015, and all within one hour of the CEO's confirmation to FP2 SBU that applications would be considered. It was not possible to trace the chain of discourse from FA SBU with chemical engineering students and identify a link between that and any of the applications in either cohort as their name was not cited by any of the applicants.

Further analysis of the identities of these applicants in terms of their degree status revealed a significant difference in the profile of the degree status of the two groups, as shown in Table 6.24. This identified a frame clash between the expectations of the CEO that he would be receiving applications from graduates and the actions and utterances of others who applied without this qualification.

Table 6.24

Education Status and Degree Subject of Internship Applicants by Date of Application

Cohort	Studying for a Master's Degree					Studying for a Bachelor's Degree				All Students
	CE	MSE	ME	BME	Total	CE	BME	ME	Total	Total
April 24–May 1, 2015	9	1	1	0	11	0	0	0	0	11
May 19–May 27, 2015	2 ^a	0	0	0	2 ^a	11	4	1	16	18 ^a

Note: CE=Chemical Engineering; MSE=Materials and Systems Engineering; ME=Mechanical Engineering; BME=Biomedical Engineering

^a Includes a duplicate application from April 24–May 1, 2015, cohort.

The first group of applicants were exclusively Master's Degree students and predominantly Chemical Engineers. The second group was comprised mainly of undergraduates (17 of 18 applicants) and mainly Chemical Engineers. Those in this second group had not achieved the educational status specified in the job description sent by the CEO on April 24, 2015, to the three SBU faculty members as Table 6.25 indicates.

Table 6.25

Who Counts as a Candidate

X Is a Candidate for an Internship
BSc in Chemistry, Analytical Chemistry, Environmental Science

In order to understand this frame clash, I re-entered the archive to look for patterns of activity that could provide the basis for an explanation. I found one clue in the dialogue that took place by telephone between the CEO and AP5 (Table 6.19) in which AP5 sought to understand the term BSc and what it represented in terms of academic status. This term may have led to a misunderstanding by others of who was qualified to be considered for an internship in ACME. In addition, in tracing back through the records, I uncovered a transcribed email from FP2 SBU to the CEO. On May 19, 2015, at 12:01 p.m., the following email-based dialogue that was initiated by FP2 SBU with the CEO occurred:

My sincere apologies for not following up on this! Have you found someone? I will forward the info if not. We definitely have students looking for internships. Thanks

My analysis of the reconstructed email records indicate that the CEO replied to this at 2:13 p.m. on Monday, May 19, 2017:

We are interviewing a shortlist of students this week but would be willing to consider any new applicants who get in touch before the end of this week. I know it is exam time, but I guess if anyone is sufficiently interested they will find the time.

This reconstructed email indicated that FP2 SBU did not forward the CEO's email of Friday, April 24, 2015, until May 19, 2015, even though it had been acknowledged within two days of FP2 SBU having received it (Table 6.18). My analysis indicated that this delay by FP2 SBU in forwarding the CEO's email to their students accounted for the 18 applications that were submitted immediately subsequent to this dialogue between FP2 SBU and the CEO. In addition, the data in Table 6.24 indicated that the academic status of only one of the students (AP6 and AP30) who applied in the second cohort and who entered into dialogue with the CEO about it, met one of the conditions he had set forth in the job description—having a “BSc in Chemistry, Analytical Chemistry, Environmental Science.” Of these two, AP6 had applied in the first cohort. I have analyzed the records and the only evidence I could uncover to get at the roots of this frame clash between the stated expectation of the CEO in terms of the educational status required of the intern and those graduates who applied is to be found in the utterances of FP2 SBU that are presented in Table 6.26 which is an extract from the reconstructed email sent by FP2 SBU to the CEO on May 19, 2015.

Table 6.26

A Way of Defining an Intern

X Is a Kind of Intern
Students looking for internships

This indicated that FP2 SBU's understanding of the requirement to be satisfied for a student to enter an applicant pool for an internship being offered at ACME was that they were looking for an internship. Academic status of FP2 SBU's students was afforded less weight in the decision FP2 SBU made about who should receive the notice of the internship opportunity at ACME.

Analysis of the data on the timing of student's applications indicated that while students responded within a short period of time to knowledge of the existence of an internship opportunity (between both cohorts 50% of all applicants applied within one day and 66% within two days), the lack of an explicit deadline for applications in the CEO's communications may have contributed to the later responses by other students and the delay of FP2 SBU in forwarding the CEO's offer of an internship to the students. A further contributing factor to the timing of FP2 SBU's response may have been the social context in which FP2 SBU was working at the time. As noted earlier, the transcription of the initial response to the CEO's email (Table 6.17) identified FP2 SBU's location in Southern India as a visiting scholar. I will explore later the impact of the timeliness of student's responses on whether or not their application was considered by the CEO.

Selecting a Candidate for an Internship

Selection of an intern began on Friday, May 8, 2015, when the CEO forwarded to HPD ACME the 11 resumes he had received up until that date. HPD ACME spent until May 14, 2015, reviewing the applications and selected a short list of three (AP3, AP4, AP13).

On May 14, 2015, the records indicate that the CEO emailed one of the candidates and his headnotes indicate that he called by phone the two other candidates and invited them all to an individual 30-minute telephone interview with HPD ACME and the CEO on following day (May 15, 2015) which all accepted.

An examination of the data shows that all emails from students who applied after May 19, 2015, were filed by the CEO in his email system folders but there is no evidence that he downloaded and opened the resumes that were attached to these as there were no records in the CEO's files of these documents, whereas the CEO's document files included a copy of the resume of all of the applicants who applied before May 8, 2015. When this data is triangulated with other evidence, this provides corroboratory evidence that the applicants who applied on or after the May 19, 2015, were not considered for the internship position. Thus, there is no evidence that, the CEO forwarded to HPD ACME any of the resumes attached to emails received from this, the second, cohort as he had done so with the resumes from the first cohort of applicants. Furthermore, analysis of the headnotes of the CEO indicate, that the CEO chose not to engage in discourse with any of these applicants because three candidates had already been identified and he wished to have additional applicants in the pool should none of the three selected candidates be suitable or accept the internship on offer.

Following the telephone interviews with the three candidates, the CEO headnotes indicate that he and HPD ACME concluded that all three candidates should be invited for

interview at ACME's facilities the following week. In the meantime, HPD ACME sent the candidates background technical information on the technologies with which they would be working (Appendix C, lines 198-207). On the morning of Thursday, May 21, 2015, the professional calendar of the CEO indicates that all three candidates were interviewed, in person, first by the CEO for 30 minutes and then by HPD ACME for 30 minutes. Following the interviews, the CEO's headnotes indicate that he and the HPD ACME met and reviewed the three candidates and agreed unanimously that AP3 was their preferred choice.

I could find no formal notes from the interviews of the three applicants; however, the CEO's headnotes indicate that the choice was made on the basis that while all were considered able to satisfy the technical requirements for the position of intern, lack of fluency in English and lack of self-confidence contributed to a Latino candidate being ranked below the top candidate. The third candidate, who was also ranked below the top candidate, was an overseas student who did not wish to begin work immediately in order not to compromise the time that would be available to him to work in the US on an OPT Extension Visa once he had graduated.

This made visible a frame clash between the stated qualifications for the role and the factors that formed the basis of selection of who was qualified for the role. Fluency in English, self-confidence, immediate availability and lack of visa restrictions were informal criteria for choosing one candidate over the other two when all three met the official qualifications made visible in the position description. Moreover, analysis of the CEO's headnotes indicated that neither HPD ACME nor the CEO, as foreign nationals, understood the meaning of the acronym OPT and its potential implications for a student's availability as an intern, and this was not made visible by the student in their application.

A search of the records and a study of ACME's HR policies manual did not identify any policies or procedures to be followed in selecting a candidate for an internship or full-time or part-time employment as an intern, indicating that the CEO and HPD ACME had the freedom as key decision makers at ACME to set the criteria that decided who could enter ACME and engage in an internship.

Recruiting an Intern

On Friday, May 22, 2015, the CEO sent AP3 an offer of an internship, a reconstructed copy of which is presented in Table 6.27. The pay rate offered to the candidate is identified in lines 11-12 and was \$15 per hour. Analysis of the CEO's headnotes indicated that during his face-to-face interview with the selected candidate he learned that he was working a night shift in a local company for \$13 per hour and that an hourly rate of \$15 per hour at ACME would be attractive. The lack of records of email based dialogue between AP3 and the CEO concerning working hours indicated that the CEO's acknowledgement of the working hours for which AP3 would be available (Lines 8-10) was also based on a prior conversation between the two. This dialogue as with the dialogue between the CEO and GS NBU reflected the acknowledgement that work patterns in ACME would have to be adjusted to the availability of the interns that would be subject to their study timetables. This provided evidence of how the patterns of activity within social groups may be changed by the entry of a stranger.

Table 6.27

Offering an Internship

Line Number	Reconstructed Email
1	From: CEO
2	To AP3
3	Date: Friday, May 22, 2015, at 5:04 p.m.
4	Subject: Internship
5	Dear AP3
6	This is to confirm that we would like you to join as an intern and if
7	possible would like your start date to be Monday, June 8.
8	We understand that you will be able to work full-time during your
9	vacation and we will need to agree your hours once term starts and you
10	know what your schedule and study obligations will be.
11	Your hourly rate will be \$15/hour and we will review this on Jan. 1, 2016.
12	We are looking forward to you joining us and I think you will find that
13	you will be joining us at a very exciting time in our company's
14	development where there will be a number of useful practical learning
15	opportunities for you.
16	We will draft a contract for you next week and when it is all agreed ask
17	you to come in and sign it. In the meantime, if you have any questions
18	please do not hesitate to contact HPD ACME or myself.
19	Have a great weekend
20	CEO
21	

This dialogue in which the CEO uncovered the expectations of the candidate *prior* to making him a salary offer contrasted with the dialogue between GS NBU and the CEO in the first recruitment attempt, which was based on an email based offer from the CEO to GS NBU and was *not* preceded with a dialogue about the salary expectations of GS NBU. Table 6.28 compares the salary offers made to the two candidates and is an extract from the two reconstructed emails (Table 4.4 and Table 6.28).

Table 6.28

A Comparison of the Offers Made to Two Candidates for an Internship

Extract of Offer Made to GS NBU Wednesday, April 15, 2015	Extract of Offer Made to AP3 Friday, May 22, 2015
I would propose that we pay you \$13/hour for the first month you are with us and if that works out we will increase that to \$15/hour	Your hourly rate will be \$15/hour and we will review this on Jan. 1, 2016

An analysis of the records showed that AP3 accepted the offer from the CEO on Sunday, May 24, 2015.

Boundary Crossers, Key Decision Makers, Bridge Builders and Cultural Guides

The analysis presented in this chapter and chapters IV and V of the discursive actions of those situated at the boundary of a social group participating in the recruitment of an intern has identified a number of common roles and actions of the participants. Table 6.29 provides examples of four types of actions.

Table 6.29

Participants in the Third Recruitment Attempt and Their Roles

Participant	Boundary Crossing	Bridging/Making Connections	Key Decision Making	Cultural Guide
CEO	Into SBU		Access of SBU students to ACME	For intern applicants through internship description
HPD ACME			Access of SBU students to ACME	For candidates through the provision of pre-interview materials
OM SBC	Into SBU Industry Association	CEO to A1 SBU		For CEO (which University to approach and not approach)
A1 ABU		CEO to SBU faculty		For OM SBU and CEO (role of SBU Career Center)
FS SBU, FA SBU FP2 SBU		CEO to students	Access of CEO to students at SBU; Students at SBU to ACME	
AP3, 3, AP4, AP13 candidates	Into ACME			

Agency

In this third attempt to recruit an intern, the role of agency and its impact on the utterances and actions of participants was made visible by the (in)actions of the participants in the recruitment of an intern. A2 SBU, an alumnus and an ex-officer with SBU's Chapter of the Industry Association to whom OM SBC directed a request for referrals and copies of the resumes of two potential candidates, chose not to respond to that request. This denied the access of the CEO to them and of the students to a potential internship for which OM SBC thought they should be considered. By contrast, A2 SBU's peer, A1 SBU responded with referrals to SBU faculty that ultimately led to the appointment of an intern. A second example of agency was made visible through the utterances and (in)actions of FP2 SBU who, in taking the decision not to forward immediately to students details of the internship that was being offered by ACME, denied them access to the opportunity to be considered for an internship. As a third example the CEO chose not to open and read the resumes of those students from SBU who applied after May 19, 2015, because three candidates had already been identified. In doing so, the CEO denied them the opportunity to be considered for the internship role. These acts of agency reflected the exercise of power that shaped this internship opportunity and who could who had access to it.

Social Context

This analysis has identified the role of social context in shaping dialogue and the outcomes of that dialogue. The cause of the delayed action of FP2 SBU to forward notice of an internship at ACME to students at SBU may be attributed to the social situation—the professor was outside the US, serving as a visiting scholar in Southern India—at the time of

the dialogue with the CEO. A1 SBU's assessment of FP2 SBU as being "really involved with their students" was framed in a different social context from the social context of the discourse with the CEO and indicated that for FP2 SBU to have been "really involved with their students" to the point of forwarding to them the CEO's email advertising the opportunity of an internship at ACME in a timely manner was dependent on social proximity to those potential interns. This may also provided an explanation for the differential responses of A1 SBU and A2 SBU to the request for support from OM SBU on behalf of the CEO. Both A1 SBU and A2 SBU were in OM SBC's network. However, the records indicated that there was a closer social proximity between the CEO and A1 SBU ("whom he had met on several occasions") than between the CEO and A2 SBU. The analysis identified that the CEO and A1 SBU knew each other prior to the email from OM SBC to these two alumni requesting their support for the CEO, whereas there is no evidence that the CEO and A2 SBU had prior knowledge of each other. As a consequence, this indicated that the *prior* social context in which the CEO and A1 SBU had met shaped the subsequent discourse between them. The social ties generated by prior contact between the CEO and A1 SBU were strong enough that they provided a social context in which A1 SBU was prompted to take discursive action and respond to OM SBU's request for his support for the CEO in his recruitment of an intern.

Finally, the analysis of this recruitment attempt has made visible the *nature* of the interactions between the participants in terms of the social context in which the interactions took place and the potential impact of these on the outcomes of those interactions. The data has shown that apart from the one telephone call between the CEO and a student considering whether to apply for the internship (AP5), the three telephone interviews with three

candidates (AP3, AP4, AP13) and subsequent face-to-face interviews with the same three candidates, all of the remaining discourse between participants in this third attempt to recruit an intern took place via email. The telephone conversation that took place between the CEO and AP5 about certain aspects of the internship that had not been communicated by the CEO in his email and the statements in AP5's application that were not present in any other application indicated that the social context (email or a phone conversation) of these discursive activities shaped subsequent utterances and actions. The face-to-face dialogue that took place between AP3, the candidate selected for the internship, and the CEO served to AP3's salary expectations and shaped the offer made by the CEO to AP3, and which was accepted. The offer made by the CEO to AP3 was very similar to that made by the CEO to GS NBU in terms of pay. For GS NBU the pay rate was to be \$13 per hour rising to \$15 per hour after one month. For AP3 the pay rate was to be \$15 per hour from the first day. However, GS NBU had much further to travel by car and therefore his costs of access to the internship offered by ACME would be much higher. This revealed that the social context of an internship, as much as what the internship offers which was the same in both cases, is a determining factor of who has access to an internship.

Chapter VII: Discussion, Implications and Concluding Remarks

The overarching questions of this study is *what supported and constrained the recruitment of a graduate student for an internship*. In this chapter, I discuss findings from my study of how a workplace-based learning opportunity (labelled an “internship”) came into being, how a graduate was recruited for the position, and how the actions of those who engaged with each other across four phases of activity, shaped outcomes for themselves and others. Previous chapters in my empirical analysis have demonstrated that the learning opportunity in question was socially constructed by numerous actors across time in different social situations and, as such, this study represents an “extended case analysis” that seeks to make apparent “previously obscure social relationships” (Mitchell, 1984). By tracing backward and forward across time from the moment of a “frame clash” that provided a “rich point” (Agar 2008) with which to anchor this study, I identified those who participated in this activity, how they entered or were entered into the discourse, when and where, and the outcomes for them. The chapters revealed the consequential nature of how differential knowledge contributed by numerous actors and the differential actions taken by them impacted the creation and design of the internship, the recruitment of a candidate to fill the position, and the ultimate award of the position to an individual.

This study was situated within and at the boundary of ACME, a Northern California-based technology start-up, where I was CEO. From this position as insider-outsider (CEO-researcher/researcher-CEO), I examined why, and how, the group went about recruiting a new person to “join” or become a “member” by filling a paid internship position created within ACME. University students seeking to fill the position constitute “strangers” given

the ACME group's lack of familiarity with the individuals and the lack of prior social relationships. The discussion of findings in this chapter contribute to understandings of how and under what conditions an entity (i.e., ACME) recruits new members and strangers (i.e., university students hoping to fill the internship) secure entry to a group of which they are not a member.

Organization of the Chapter

This chapter is organized into five sections. In the first, I provide an overview of the study as a prelude to the second section in which I discuss the major findings that emerged from my analysis of the internship development and recruitment process that took place over a 13-week period. In the third section, I identify the findings from this study which challenge and confirm existing research and I conclude this section by addressing those findings which add to the field. In the fourth section, I discuss the implications of the findings of this study of the recruitment of an intern for those seeking to recruit interns, those who wish to obtain an internship, and those who advise them. In section five, I conclude by identifying questions I have uncovered during the course of my research that stretch beyond its scope and for which answers from future research are needed.

Study Overview: Preparing for Discussion

This study was guided by an interactional ethnographic approach (Green, Skukauskaite & Baker, 2012) to study actions taken by individuals within a private company to create a workplace-based learning opportunity (called an internship) and the ways in which corporate representatives engaged in the recruitment of a student to fill the new position. This study focused on an examination of the actors who were involved, the roles of the different actors, their interactions over time, and makes visible the roots and routes to the construction of an internship. The examination of who had access to information about the internship, to what kinds of information they had access and when, and how the actors within the company went about selecting individuals who could fill the position make visible the consequential nature of the action taken by the many actors involved in the construction of the internship. This study challenges the concept that the recruitment of an intern is a standard business process involving clearly defined, sequential steps that result in a predictable outcome for the aspiring intern and the company seeking to recruit them. It also calls into question the meaning that is attached to the term “internship” at a time when these are being widely advocated as a learning context in which young people can make the transition from the world of formal education to the world of work. In this telling case, I make visible what potential interns, those who counsel them, and the companies that seek to recruit them, need to know and do in order to navigate what emerged as a complex, multi-layered, non-linear series of social interactions, involving participants in a range of roles across time when a company sought to recruit an intern.

The Research Site

The location of this study was a fast-growing Northern California-based technology start-up (ACME) that employed 15 people who were predominantly experienced scientists and chemical, industrial and software engineers. Because the focus of this study was of a recruitment activity, much of the discourse and interactions took place between participants outside the physical boundaries of the company. Many of the participants were located in local universities, companies, and in two cases, they were overseas—one in Southern India and the other in Morocco. Thus, the activities took place both within ACME and outside the physical boundary of the company and at the relational boundaries of employer and employees with others. The records indicate that 38 participants were involved at some point during the recruitment activity, and I identified more than 140 interactions that took place between those participants. The majority (125) of these interactions were through email-based discourse and on eight occasions by phone, and five in face-to-face meetings. The records indicate that the recruitment activity lasted for a period of 13 weeks, from March 2, 2015, when the decision to recruit an intern was taken by the management of ACME, until May 24, 2015, when the search for an intern was concluded by a student accepting the offer of an internship. This activity was divided into four sub-activities, the first of these was the process by which the management of ACME took the decision to recruit an intern. This was followed by two efforts by the company to recruit an intern that ended in failure (i.e., the students rejected the opportunity) before a third attempt to recruit an intern that was successful. By studying three attempts to recruit an intern, I have been able to uncover how strangers negotiated access to social groups of which they are not a member (what they needed to know and do), and how the study of that negotiation can make visible the norms

and expectations, roles and responsibilities and rights and obligations of the group to which the stranger negotiates entry.

The Researcher and Research Approach

The researcher in this study was CEO of ACME who was selected as a tracer unit throughout this study because he was responsible for the initiation of the intern recruitment activity and continued to engage in the process through its conclusion with the appointment of an intern. The centrality of his role has facilitated access to comprehensive records that include reconstructed email correspondence between the actors and headnotes of the CEO's interactions with the other participants in the internship development and recruitment effort. In conducting this study, I have adopted an interactional ethnographic approach (Green, Skukauskaite & Baker, 2012) that required me to step back from the known (Heath, 1982; Green & Bridges, 2018) and through analysis of discourse, actions and events among different configurations of actors in order attempt to see through the eyes of an outsider seeking to understand what an insider would know, understand, predict and do (Heath, 1982; Heath & Street, 2008) in order to understand the goals of the actions and interactions among members, as well as what is being, or intended to be accomplished. In stepping back and adopting the stance of a "professional stranger" (Agar, 2008), I have been able to make visible how the participants, including myself, the CEO, shaped and were shaped by their discourse as reflected in what they subsequently said and did as a result of their interactions.

As the analyzes in this dissertation show, this reflexive approach has enabled me to construct warranted accounts (Heap, 1995) about what was happening in this "bit of life" from the perspective of an outsider approaching this social activity without prior knowledge or understanding of this social activity called constructing an internship and recruiting an

intern. My analysis of the multiple attempts to fill the internship position provided me with the opportunity to collect, analyze and triangulate data between each of the three attempts, and to compare and contrast the interactions, the discourse and the outcomes that involved different group of actors in different social contexts at different times, but in which all shared the same purpose.

Making Visible What Constitutes the Recruitment Process: Warranted Account

The reconstructed records of discourse and interactions make visible how different participants, some of whom had prior knowledge of each other and others who did not, were brought together for a specific and common purpose; to engage in a social activity, namely the creation of an internship and recruitment of an intern by ACME. My research identified four distinct phases of activities that led to the recruitment of an intern by ACME. The first phase of the recruitment activity took place within ACME and involved the CEO and the management team of ACME meeting to address a business problem that the group had identified—a shortage of laboratory staff. This discourse led to a socially constructed decision to recruit an intern. Three attempts to recruit an intern then followed, all of which were very different from each other. The differences provided me with the opportunity to triangulate my findings from the analysis of each of the attempts and, in doing so, afforded me the opportunity for a deeper and broader perspective on the social activities that occurred within each attempt. Participants in each recruitment activity, with the exception of CEO, who was present throughout, and the Head of Product Development at ACME, who participated in the first and third recruitment attempts, were different in each attempt. Five different intern recruiters, two of whom were from different social groups, played a role across the three recruitment attempts. In each of the first two recruitment attempts, there was

only one potential intern who was introduced by a recruiter to the opportunity, whereas in the third activity, there were 28 applicants for the internship who had been made aware of the internship opportunity by a recruiter. In the third recruitment activity, there was a series of activities and interactions by which an intern was selected by the company and included student applications and subsequently the review of a short list of candidates before an intern was selected. In contrast, during the first two phases, the candidate was selected by the recruiter.

Discussion of Findings

Prior studies of the discourse and interactions of social groups have often been situated in a social context in a bounded physical space such as a classroom, drug clinic, on board a ship, in a cocktail bar or air-traffic control center where those present have a degree of acquaintance with each other. In some studies, there has been discussion of *how* the researcher negotiated access to social group, the challenges they faced in gaining entry to the group and the strategies they used to gain access. Few such accounts have explored what those entry negotiations could tell them about the group and the actors they encountered and have only gone as far as identifying them as gatekeepers, sponsors and insiders whom they encountered in that process. This study also identified such roles but went on to explore in detail these identities and others that emerge. The roles and identities that emerge from this study have not been recognized in literature elsewhere on internships and recruitment and yet they are seen to play a critical role in affording the opportunity for individuals to enter social groups to which they are a stranger and gain access to the opportunities for learning and development therein.

Axiomatically, if researchers have reported findings from this moment in which access is negotiated it has been in instances when access was gained and the research project could proceed, not when access was denied and the research study came to a halt. By situating this study at the boundary where actors are seeking to negotiate access, I sought to make visible how such an approach can uncover what happens in this bit of life where who can have access (or not), to whom and under what conditions shapes and is shaped by the social groups to which they belong and the one they are seeking to enter, both when that negotiation is successful and when it is not.

A comparative analysis of the three recruitment activities reveals the identities of those who participated in the social (co)construction of an internship and what was accomplished through their discursive interactions over a period of 13 weeks. My systematic analysis of the written and verbal exchanges between participants revealed a number of patterns or types of actions that I have classified as being a recruiter, boundary crosser, cultural guide, and/or a key decision maker capable of controlling access to members of one or more social groups. These roles are generally not visible in social situations where members of a group are already acquainted with each other (e.g., a classroom). They emerged from this study of what happens at the boundary of a social group (i.e., ACME) when a stranger (i.e., a student seeking an internship) approaches a social group that is seeking out a new member.

Recruiters

In contrast to conventional notions of recruiters in the private sector who work for the company, either in a human resources-type position or as a contractor specializing in employee recruitment, this study revealed that in this telling case, the selection of a potential intern for ACME was not the activity of someone within the recruiting organization (ACME). In the first recruitment attempt (that followed the development of the internship itself), the recruitment role was undertaken by an outsider, the Head of Department at North Bay University who selected which of his graduate students he would recommend for the position. When the Head of Department at North Bay University learned that his graduate student had rejected the offer from ACME of an internship due to the distance between the job and his home, Head of Department at North Bay University shifted his selection criteria for potential candidates to those students who fitted the position description but lived closer to ACME. He discounted potential candidates who did not. In the second recruitment attempt, the Operations Manager at South Bay Company, acted as a recruiter by identifying “passive” potential candidates—individuals whom he knew and whom he considered suitable for a role—but who, with the exception of one graduate student at South Bay University, were not known to be looking for employment, whether as an intern or full-time position. In this role as recruiter, the Operations Manager at South Bay Company provided the CEO with the resume of this graduate student and the email addresses of six other potential candidates and the resumes of two of these. In the third recruitment effort, three faculty members of South Bay University were identified as recruiters by an alumnus for South Bay University and confirmed that identity by the actions they took to make their students aware of the

internship opportunity at ACME and whom the students needed to approach with a resume and an expression of interest.

The actions of recruiters across all of these three attempts were a response to a request initiated by the CEO of ACME. In the first two recruitment attempts, the CEO communicated directly with the recruiters. In third recruitment effort, the recruiters were recruited by someone the CEO had recruited (the Operations Manager at South Bay Company). What recruiters understood about the internship position and their knowledge of ACME shaped their responses. The Head of Department at North Bay University, someone who was shown to have prior knowledge of ACME, was able to identify initially one suitable candidate who was offered the internship and subsequently two more when the first rejected the offer made to him. The Operations Manager at South Bay Company was also shown to be someone with prior knowledge of ACME. He did not receive a copy of the internship job description prior to proposing six potential candidates from a range of disciplines of whom one graduate student from South Bay University was selected by the CEO as suitable candidate with whom to engage and did so without success. The three faculty members of South Bay University recruited as recruiters by an alumnus from South Bay University, who himself was recruited by the Operations Manager at South Bay Company to assist the CEO in a search for an intern, did not have prior knowledge of ACME, and only had the information provided to them in the role description by the CEO. All three chose to broadcast the opportunity to their students by email in the format received from CEO who subsequently received 28 applications.

Boundary Crossers

On several occasions across the three recruitment activities the identity of a boundary crosser emerges as individuals who are members of more than one social group and are able to cross (or are embarking on a crossing) from one to another where they are not considered a total stranger (but would have been considered a stranger at some point in time in the past). Boundary crossers were identified in this study as knowing with whom in a social group to engage in discursive activities in order to gain knowledge of its members, and were known by members of that social group. The CEO, for example, already knew the Head of Department at North Bay University when he entered into dialogue with him to seek his assistance in identifying an intern. The Operations Manager at South Bay Company was a boundary crosser at South Bay University through his mentoring activities there and was able to introduce its members to CEO in furtherance of the CEO's search for an intern. Candidates who engaged in discourse with the CEO and the Head of Product Development at ACME were early stage boundary crossers who relied on and were supported in their crossing into ACME and access to those within it by the established boundary crossers, the Head of Department at North Bay University and the Operations Manager at South Bay Company. Because of their access to multiple groups, boundary crossers were seen taking up the role of recruiter in this study. It also emerges that the more the knowledge of these recruiters of ACME and the internship role, the smaller the number of potential interns that they identified. Thus, the Head of Department at North Bay University had a prior relationship with the CEO and received a copy of the description of the internship role *before* identifying one candidate; the Operations Manager at South Bay Company had a prior relationship with the CEO but did not receive a copy of the internship role description before

identifying seven potential candidates of whom only one was approached by the CEO; the CEO had *no* prior relationship with the faculty members at South Bay University who did receive the a copy of the internship role before they issued it to their students with the outcome that 28 students applied, many of whom were not considered suitable by the CEO or not considered at all because they arrived after an unspecified date set by the CEO.

Cultural Guides

Cultural guides possess knowledge from which an outsider may benefit in that it can inform them about the norms and expectations, rights and obligation, roles and relationships within the group to which they are a stranger. The CEO, whom I show later played the role of a key decision-maker controlling access to ACME, also acted as a cultural guide when he amended the role description provided to him by the Head of Product Development at ACME to describe the working environment at ACME. The Head of Department at North Bay University played the role of a cultural insider when he saw the CEO's reaction to the tardiness of his graduate student's response to a request for a resume as "a teaching moment." The Head of Product Development at ACME supplied the graduate student from North Bay University and the three short-listed candidates with technical information linked to the role of the intern. The alumnus from South Bay University warned the CEO and the Operations Manager at South Bay Company away from approaching the South Bay University Career Center as a place to locate potential interns, and directed the CEO to South Bay faculty members with information that described their suitability as recruiters for the CEO. The Operations Manager at South Bay Company steered the CEO away from Oceanside University based on his experience with students from there.

This study also made visible how the insider information provided to outsiders is contextual. The Head of Department at North Bay University's advice on intern pay rates was contextualized in that it did not take account of the potential intern's personal circumstances (commute distance) and, as a result, the graduate student from North Bay University did not find it practical to accept the offer of an internship based on the pay rate offered by the CEO.

By contrast, when a similar offer was made to Applicant 3, who lived closer to ACME and was working at nights in a logistics company, Applicant 3 accepted it. The contextual limitations of knowledge shared by insiders is also evidenced by the differences in the resume of the graduate student from South Bay University provided by Operations Manager at South Bay Company to the CEO. and a more recent one that graduate student from South Bay University provided directly to the CEO. Analysis of the discourse between the CEO and graduate student from South Bay University revealed differences between what two insiders considered the hierarchical structure of ACME to be: The CEO indicated to that within the context of the organization the graduate student from North Bay University would be “working for” Head of Product Development at ACME (Table 4.36, p. 155), while Head of Product Development at ACME indicated that the nature of their potential working relationship would be one of “collaboration” (Table 4.38, p. 156). This analysis led to the identification of the limitations boundary crossers can attach to the knowledge of insiders on which depend as they seek to navigate the boundary of the group to which they, as a stranger, are seeking to gain entry.

Key Decision Makers Who Control Access to One or More Groups

This study examined the actions and interactions that occurred within that slice of time and space when a stranger approaches and attempts to engage within a new social group. My analysis of the actors, actions and interactions that proceeded entry to new social groups revealed a third group of participants who are found at the boundary of social groups when a stranger approaches. Specifically, in each instance of boundary crossing there was someone who could be identified as a key individual who had the ability or authority to: 1) control the access of strangers to the group of which the person is a member; 2) seek and/or

actively facilitate the entry of individuals external to the social group to which the decision maker is a member; and 3) control access of members of the group of which the gatekeeper is a member to strangers outside the group.

Key Decision Makers: Controlling the Access of Strangers

In this telling case, the CEO was a key decision maker controlling the access of strangers in the sense that he defined the steps that a stranger must follow and conditions that a stranger must meet in order to gain access to a social group (ACME). In his role as a key decision maker at ACME, the CEO designed the recruitment process through which a candidate would have to pass in order to be recruited. This role of the CEO included the finalization of the job description for the role of the internship that he socially constructed with the Head of Product Development at ACME.

The job description was to determine, in part, who the CEO would recognize as being qualified enough to be considered as a candidate for the internship. Subsequently the CEO exercised agency to (re)frame the job description based on the implicated participants in this of this dialogue. Thus, in his discourse with the graduate student from North Bay University, the CEO made the term of the internship conditional on the financial position of ACME and in an email to faculty members at SBU, the CEO positioned the role as one that was paid. The analysis in Chapter IV (Table 4.32, p. 152) showed that the CEO had an expectation of when he would receive a resume from the graduate student from North Bay University, but he did not make this visible with the result that this graduate student was nearly discounted as a candidate owing to the tardiness of his submission of his resume to the CEO.

The analysis in Chapter VI (p. 249) showed that the applicants from South Bay University who applied after May 1, 2015, were not considered, but no formal timetable for

applications had been communicated. The CEO dictated that the negotiation with short list of candidates in the third recruitment activity begin with a 30-minute telephone interview with himself and the Head of Product Development at ACME before proceeding to face-to-face interviews. The date and timing of telephone interviews was decided by the CEO. Subsequent face-to-face interviews were structured by the CEO who dictated that the student would spend 30 minutes with him followed by 30 minutes with the Head of Product Development at ACME. In the selection of the candidate, the key decision maker introduced criteria to choose between the three candidates— work visa status, self-confidence and communication skills. It was the CEO, a key decision maker, who established these criteria that he had not previously disclosed to the candidates. The CEO, as a key decision maker, negotiated the recruitment of the intern and the terms and date of their entry into ACME. When the selected candidate declined offer of an internship, the CEO exercised agency and did not seek to change the candidate's decision by addressing their concern with an improved financial offer.

A comparison of the three recruitment cycles in this this telling case made visible that the terms and conditions of entry established by the key decision maker were subject to change. Thus, having failed to recruit the graduate student from North Bay University, the CEO sought out information on intern pay expectations from the Operations Manager from South Bay Company and learned that the conditions offered to that graduate student were below that offered by other employers and that learning is reflected in the higher offer made in the third recruitment attempt which secured the entry of an intern.

In this telling case, the CEO designated the Head of Product Development at ACME as another key decision maker and afforded him the powers to exercise that role. These powers

included the selection of a short list of three candidates in the third recruitment cycle, participating in the telephone interviews with the short-listed candidates and in the decision to conduct one-on-one interviews with all three candidates. For the face-to-face interviews with the graduate student from North Bay University, the Head of Product Development at ACME was empowered by the CEO to decide the structure, timing, frequency length, and content of the interviews.

The Head of Department at North Bay University was seen to act as a key decision maker (as well as a boundary crosser and cultural guide). He determined which potential interns at North Bay University the CEO would meet, and where (his office) and which of his students could have access to an internship. This telling case also identified how the faculty advisor, faculty secretary and faculty professor at South Bay University all acted as key decision makers in terms of their ability to control the access of the CEO to potential interns within SBU.

Key Decision Makers: Seeking the Entry of Strangers

In the recruitment activities that are the subject of this study, the CEO, the key decision maker at ACME, approached the Head of Department at North Bay University, a key decision-maker at North Bay University and three key decision-makers at South Bay University (the faculty advisor, faculty secretary, and faculty professor at South Bay University) to identify a pool of potential interns. He did not place an advertisement for an internship on a Job Board or on a social media platform, which could have been alternative means to identify potential candidates and that would have made visible the existence of a work-place based learning opportunity to a wider population of potential applicants. In this way, he pre-selected the groups from which a member could be drawn—namely university

graduates—and limited the number of potential applicants. Initially, potential interns were limited to those known to the Head of Department at North Bay University. When that one candidate rejected the offer of an internship on the grounds of the practicality of the distance they would have to drive to ACME for the pay being offered, the analysis shows that the key decision-maker at ACME, who was seeking an intern, took up a learning from this dialogue and switched his search for potential interns to universities closer to ACME.

In the literature, key decision makers (often referred to as gatekeepers) are seen as controlling the access of an approaching stranger and acting in a reactive mode to them. This study has made visible not only the agency of key individuals in the negotiation of access with strangers but also their agency in seeking out strangers to join the social group where they exercise that role.

Key Decision Makers: Controlling the Access of Social Group Members to External Opportunities

Through the exercise of agency, key decision makers may fulfill more than one function. In their strategic position on the boundary of the group to which they are a member they can control both ingress of strangers to their fellow members and the egress of those fellow members to the strangers themselves. Thus, Head of Department at North Bay University fostered the external access of his graduate student to the world outside North Bay University, but he did not make the same opportunity to other students. The faculty professor at South Bay University, as a key decision-maker at South Bay University, exercised agency when choosing when and to whom to make visible an internship opportunity with the consequence many students who did not have the educational status

required for the role applied for it after a short list of candidates with the requested qualifications had been selected for interviews.

Recruitment Is a Complex and Non-Linear Activity

A comparison of the three attempts to recruit an intern identifies multiple differences between each one of them in terms of the patterns of discourse and actions that followed. The descriptions of the internship role shifted over time as the intended recipients changed. In the first recruitment effort the creation of an applicant pool and selection of a candidate was conflated into one activity by the Head of Department at North Bay University and the CEO and Head of Product Development at ACME then proceeded to validate that selection. In the second recruitment effort, as with the first, there were no applicants and a candidate was selected by CEO from a number of individuals proposed by a recruiter. In the third effort, there were multiple applicants from which a short list of candidates was identified and from which an intern was recruited.

In the second recruitment effort the role description was not provided to the candidate, a graduate student from South Bay University, by CEO until after he had received his resume. The pattern of their discourse (Table 6.4, p. 255) makes it clear that this graduate student from South Bay University was in the position of selecting ACME or another employment opportunity and self-selected out of the internship being offered by ACME based on the long-term role being offered by another employer.

This study has shown that the recruitment of an intern at ACME was not a linear process. After the graduate student from North Bay University rejected the offer of an internship, the recruiter (his head of department) continued to work to identify potential candidates for ACME. The CEO's dialogue with the graduate student from South Bay

University overlapped with CEO's actions in the third recruitment attempt in which he approached three South Bay University faculty members to identify applicants. Those applications arrived in two cohorts and the second cohort of students in this, the third recruitment activity, overlapped with the interviews of candidates selected from the first cohort of applicants. Finally, the iterative nature of the activities to recruit an intern is evidence that this effort was re-initiated twice before an intern was eventually appointed.

This study across the three recruitment cycles made visible discourse and actions by one of the key decision makers, the CEO, to triangulate information provided to him by others. The CEO's efforts to triangulate information led to shifts in his negotiating position on the salary he was willing to offer a candidate. Thus, when the graduate student from North Bay University rejected the offer of an internship on the grounds that the salary offered by CEO was not adequate given his commuting distance, CEO sought to validate the information provided to him by the Head of Department from North Bay University by asking the Operations Manager at South Bay Company, in his role as a cultural guide, for his knowledge on this matter. Before making an offer to Applicant 3, the CEO ascertained from the candidate what he would accept as a salary based on his current salary in a logistics company. When the Operations Manager at South Bay Company proposed the South Bay University Career Center as a source of potential interns, the alumnus from South Bay University offered a different perspective and recommended against that course of action. The absence in the records of any discourse between the CEO and that Career Center indicated that the CEO followed this advice of a "cultural guide." The evidence also indicated that the CEO did not validate the advice of the Operations Manager at South Bay

Company that Oceanside students would not be suitable interns for ACME and followed it by not contacting Oceanside University.

Prior studies of recruitment or internships have not examined how the role of the intern was designed. This study has made visible how what counts as an internship was socially constructed across time through the interactions of the different participants. Table 4.20 (p. 135) indicates how the role description inscribed by the Head of Product Development at ACME for the CEO was contextualized by the CEO who added to the words of the Head of Product Development at ACME with an inscription that described the company where the internship was to take place. Subsequently the CEO added further to the role description in the light of his implicated readers for whom a “paid” internship and long term employment prospects with ACME were understood by the CEO to be factors that might shape the appeal of an internship at ACME. In the final selection of an intern, the CEO and the Head of Product Development at ACME applied a number of criteria to select a candidate from the three who had been shortlisted. These criteria were self-confidence, communication skills, and the need for a work visa or not. There is no evidence that these criteria were ever communicated formally or informally at any stage by ACME during its attempts to identify and recruit an intern.

Defining an Internship.

This study has made visible the roots and routes to the decision by ACME to create and offer an internship. In Table 4.19 (p. 130), my analysis showed that the formal goal of the internship was not to create a *formal* workplace-based learning opportunity for a student. The analysis of the records of the discourse within ACME prior to the search for an intern reveals that the goal of the internship was to address a business problem—a shortage of laboratory resources that was constraining the growth of the company. There was no discussion about providing a formal learning and development opportunity for a young person and who within ACME was to provide that, how, when and where. Potential solutions for solving ACME’s business problem were (co)constructed in discussions between members of ACME, and the choice of which option to pursue was taken by the CEO of ACME. The study indicates that an internship was seen by ACME as a way of recruiting a graduate student “with a reasonable probability it would convert to a full-time employment opportunity.”

The discourse of the Head of Department at North Bay University indicated that he saw his graduate student as entering a place of work where he could be “molded into a good worker” (Table 4.30, p. 146). This graduate student from North Bay University referred to a “job offer” and “working” at ACME. The graduate student from North Bay University did not refer to the internship position as a learning opportunity. In the discourse with the graduate student from North Bay University and Applicant 3 from South Bay University, there is evidence that CEO recognized that students would have studies to complete and that this would limit students’ hours and prevent them from being full-time employees. The graduate student from South Bay University self-selected because he was looking for a full-

time permanent position, which the CEO had made clear he could not offer to him because of the financial position of the company.

However, throughout the analysis of the records of the discourse that form the corpus on which this study has been based, there is not one single question that touches on the learning and development opportunity presented by the internship opportunity. This indicated that either all participants saw the opportunity as it had been described—an internship with a “reasonable probability to convert to a full-time opportunity,” or each had an understanding of what it was that made it sufficiently attractive to propose to students. Only the undergraduates who formed the second cohort in the third recruitment attempt referred to the internship in terms of a summer commitment. The faculty professor at South Bay University, who introduced students in the second cohort to the opportunity, referred to many students having an interest in an internship. However, neither the students, faculty professor at South Bay University, nor the other faculty members at South Bay University questioned the nature of the internship being offered by ACME before forwarding it to their students. This evidenced that there are many views of what constitutes an internship.

In the case of ACME, the evidence indicated that the company saw it as a way of recruiting someone under more favorable *circumstances* than someone already employed. It was anticipated that an intern could be recruited more quickly and at a lower salary from a local university, and could begin on a part-time basis and eventually become a full-time employee should the company secure funding. That the student would need to be trained in the activities of ACME was made evident by the actions of the Head of Product Development at ACME to inform first the graduate student from North Bay University and then the three candidates in the third recruitment activity of such a need. Thus, ACME’s

Head of Product Development's discursive actions suggest that he had identified a need to make available *learning* opportunities to the candidates for them to understand the kind of technologies with which they would be working, but the provision of learning and development opportunities was never formally offered or negotiated as part of the work they would undertake when they entered ACME.

The Nature of the Discourse During the Recruitment of an Intern

A consistent pattern across all three recruitment activities was the dominant proportion of discursive actions that took place by email. Face-to-face meetings numbered less than 10 between members of ACME and outsiders to the company and five phone calls were identified. The study makes visible how the nature of this discourse shaped what followed in terms of the *actions* of the participants. The action by the faculty professor at South Bay University, who was located in Southern India, made visible to their students in California the existence of an internship opportunity despite their geographical separation. Both this faculty member and the others at South Bay University made multiple students aware simultaneously of the internship opportunity by a single email addressed to groups of students and led to 28 student applications. By contrast, the Head of Department at North Bay University personally identified initially one student and met with him ahead of a face-to-face meeting with the CEO. The Operations Manager at South Bay Company personally introduced the CEO to six potential candidates by email, and the CEO entered into an email-based dialogue with one of them that he selected. Negotiation of work conditions and terms took place by email between the CEO and the graduate students from North Bay University and South Bay University who were candidates for the internship and did not conclude in their appointment. Discussions with Applicant 3 from South Bay University about terms and

conditions took place on a face-to-face basis between the CEO and Applicant 3 in which, through dialogue, the CEO learned what the applicant was earning and would be prepared to accept as a salary to join ACME.

Confirmation of Prior Research Findings

The analysis presented in this study of how the design of an internship and its terms were constructed through dialogue between the participants provided evidence that supports the theory of Bahktin (1986) of how knowledge is socially constructed between individuals. This study has also shown how the social context and literacy practices and actions of individuals shaped the outcomes of three attempts by ACME to recruit an intern and supports the theories of Gumperz (1982) that individuals maintain and create identities and new social relationships through discourse, the language in use and differing interpretive practices and of Fairclough (1992), that changing practices of language-in-use shape social practice and social practice shapes language-in-use. Evidence presented in this study confirms theories that language (Jupp, Roberts and Cook-Gumperz, 1982; Bloome et al., 1985) and social equity issues, based on costs of access, communication skills and nationality, can be hidden determinants of who was identified as an intern and afforded the opportunity of access to learning opportunities, which in the context of this study were workplace-based. This study also confirms prior research (Garner, 2011), which has highlighted that companies' interests in hiring interns stem primarily as a recruitment tool and to access graduates who can be "molded into great workers" at lower cost than experienced workers.

Challenges to Prior Research Findings

In this telling case, I make visible what potential interns, those who counsel them, and the companies who seek to recruit them need to know and do in order to navigate what emerged as a complex, multi-layered, non-linear series of social interactions, involving participants in a range of roles across time when a company sought to recruit an intern. The results of the analysis documented in this study challenge the concept that is grounded in theories of organizational behavior (e.g., Barber, 1998) that recruitment is a standard business process involving clearly defined, sequential steps that result in a predictable outcome for the aspiring intern and the company seeking to recruit them. It also calls into question the meaning that is attached to the term “internship” at a time when these are being widely advocated as a learning context in which young people can make the transition from the world of formal education to the world of work.

New Findings

Prior researchers (e.g., Johnson, 1975; Burgess, 1984; Agar, 2008; Walford, 2008; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) have identified the challenges researchers have encountered in negotiating access to a site of learning for the purposes of research and have identified actors (e.g., gatekeepers, sponsors, insiders) and their roles, and the tactics and resources (e.g., social networks) they used in order to gain access to the site. However, these observations do not make apparent how, across time, these interactions and discourse shaped and were shaped by the outcomes for the participants in these negotiations in terms of the opportunities that were made available to them, by whom, under what conditions and with

what outcomes. This study has made visible the multiple and complex interactions and the outcomes of these when individuals approach groups to which they are a stranger during a recruitment process.

Prior research on organizations as communities of practice (e.g., Lave and Wegner, 1991) has focused on the learning opportunities offered by “old timers” to “newbies” within defined social contexts. This study has identified that learning opportunities are made available across social contexts (e.g., between the Head of Product Development at ACME and candidates for an internship that were located at local universities and between the Head of Department at North Bay University and the CEO in respect of rates of pay for interns). In addition, this study has demonstrated that an “old timer” (the CEO) learned from his interaction with a “potential newbie” (the graduate student from North Bay University) that his offer was not acceptable for the pay offered given the distance the graduate student would have to travel to ACME.

Discussion of the Implications of the Findings

This study has identified a number of challenges in terms of how internship opportunities are conceptualized and developed, the ways organizations offering internships and potential interns identify one another and develop shared knowledge of the learning and development opportunities, role, expectations and many other factors that must be considered by the potential employer, as well as the student and his/her academic advisor. The findings have implications for young people moving from formal education into the workplace, those who teach and advise them, and the companies who seek to employ students.

Implications for Aspiring Interns

This study has shown that what participants understood to be an internship was subject to different interpretations, which indicates the need for greater clarity as to what an internship within a given context may offer—paid part-time work, a path to full-time work, a summer job, a voluntary role, a potentially short-term role the duration of which will be dictated by the financial position of the company or an investment by the company in the student for a future return. If the expectation of an internship is that it will serve as a bridge between formal education and the workplace, this study did not identify any discursive actions between potential interns and ACME employees in that respect. However, the actions of Head of Product Development at ACME to inform candidates about ACME's technology during the interview process indicated that informal leaning and development opportunities existed within ACME, but that they were not formalized and made explicit. In this case, commuting distances and times were factors that determined the accessibility of the internship offering for GS NBU and other potential candidates that HD NBU also considered suitable for the role of an intern.

Implications for Universities

There is evidence that university career centers may not always enjoy a positive reputation for being places where students are likely to seek to identify a stranger offering a career or an internship opportunity. At the same time, faculty, with their own priorities (e.g., visiting scholarships abroad), may not be capable of identifying suitable students for internship opportunities and/or may not be able to respond to requests for assistance in a timely manner. In this telling case, the CEO was directed to three faculty members at SBU by Al1 SBU, an alumnus of SBU. The discursive actions taken by the CEO that followed

resulted in 28 applications of which 17 were received too late to be considered and were from students who, in the majority, did not meet the requirements for the position. This indicates the need to refine existing approaches within universities to channeling internship opportunities to appropriate students when strangers approach seeking to attract them with an opportunity for an internship.

Implications for Companies

The study makes visible that ACME was not fully prepared to recruit an intern. The description of the internship role changed over time, and the CEO began the process of recruiting an intern without knowing what intern pay rates were. There is also no evidence that there was any planning of how to address the learning and development needs of the student, or prepare ACME employees for the role they would play in this. The dates by which ACME expected responses to the request for a resume or applications for an internship were not made visible and potentially impacted who was considered for an internship. The ACME CEO's statement of his expectations of the academic status of an intern were not understood by at least one, and possibly more students who applied for the internship. Commuting distances and times may determine who has access and can be considered for an internship. The rights and obligations within ACME as to the respective role of the key decision makers, the CEO and the Head of Product Development at ACME—who would make the offer of employment—were not well understood. The recruitment process was not transparent, leading the graduate student from North Bay University to understand he had a job offer before one had been made to him. Selection criteria went beyond the written description of the internship role and included work visa status and an assessment of communication skills and self-confidence during face-to-face interviews.

This indicates that companies pursuing internships to attract students (and not to expend time and resources on attracting students who do not meet their criteria) must consider ways of preparing individuals who are expected to participate in the dialogue with students who are prospective employees. Participants need to be well prepared and understand the expectations of them in terms of role to be played and their rights when approached by the stranger (i.e., student) seeking entry to the company.

Implications for Research

This study has identified six areas on which to build future research. Three of these are methodological and one theoretical.

The Physical Nature of Discourse and the Shaping of Outcomes

Field-based interactional ethnographic studies have traditionally been located in a single-bounded physical space where the co-located researcher has observed and recorded the social interactions that occur between members of a group in the moment they occur. This study represents a departure from that tradition. It was based on a reconstruction of dialogues across time, based on email correspondence, often between only two people, many of whom never met physically during their social engagement with each other or afterwards. Many of the individuals were brought together as a result of an initiative, spearheaded by ACME's CEO, to recruit a graduate student as an intern. The implications of the email and other form of electronic communication as an increasingly prevalent form of communication between individuals across boundaries of time and space, raises important epistemological questions of how to study this phenomenon and ontological questions of what can be seen

and known from a study based on this form of discourse. The research community has yet to explore widely how this medium of communication in which people come to “know” and engage with one another through social networks and emails, as oppose to an initial in-person or face-to-face meeting, may shape who speaks, when, under what conditions and with what outcomes.

Selection of a Study Site

Traditionally, ethnographic studies have focused on the norms and expectations, rights and obligations, roles and responsibilities of members of social groups who have some level of prior acquaintance and who are observed interacting in a common space in which they are co-located. This study was located at the boundary of ACME, a company in which only the CEO and the Head of Product Development at ACME were physically based. Only four actors were ever physically present at this site—the graduate student from North Bay University and the three candidates from South Bay University. Only the CEO from ACME physically visited another site, North Bay University to meet the Head of Department and his graduate student. The dialogue and interactions between the participants were otherwise located at the boundaries between their location and that of ACME. This study has revealed what can be learned about groups by studying what happens when strangers meet and interact at these boundaries, and provides empirical evidence that in the field of recruitment research, interactional ethnographic research can offer valuable insights to companies and job seekers as to what happens in these contexts.

The Role of Non-Participant Observer in the Construction of Ethnographic Studies

The role of the participant-researcher and the need for the researcher to adopt an *emic* position as a condition for generating warrantable accounts of the social group that they are observing if they are to meet the norms and expectations of the research community, has been well-documented in previous studies. The challenge this presents for the participant-observer, and *how* to overcome it, has received little attention from those who have analyzed research methodologies. In this “telling case,” the discourse between the researcher-participant and non-participant cultural guides (advisor and an experienced ethnographer) who were located outside this study, informed the researcher-participant as to what counts as an ethnographic perspective that meets the norms of this epistemology and, in doing so, shaped this study and its outcomes. The essential role these non-participant cultural guides play in the (co)construction of research outcomes in the field of ethnographic research merits further analysis in order to make visible what happens here.

Gaining Access to Work-Based Learning Opportunities

The discussion of the findings of this study raised questions about the theories of educators, young people and companies about what constitutes an internship, its goals, and how, if at all, they differ from any other form of employment. It also raises questions about the theories of equity of access to such opportunities and the access paths to such opportunities if a goal of public policy is to increase substantially the numbers of young people taking up internships. This study has identified some of the factors that impacted the access of students to suitable opportunities and of companies to suitable students. In doing so, it lays the groundwork for further studies of potential mechanisms for improving access of both groups to work based learning opportunities.

The Impact of Gendered Language on Who Applies for an Internship

The work of Gaucher, Friesen and Kay (2011) provides evidence that the language of advertised job descriptions will impact application rates of males and females with the latter being discouraged by male gendered language. In this context, how the language of an internship description may influence who applies for it is an area that merits research.

Uncovering Internships

This study has uncovered how 38 students, some of whom were looking for a full-time job, others who were looking for a summer internship, were made aware of an internship at ACME. It has also uncovered that university career centers may not be considered by graduate students as a place to locate an internship. At the same time, the reliance of companies on approaching faculty for introductions to potential interns may not be a reliable pathway for both companies seeking interns and graduates seeking internships. Prior research (NACE, 2017) has indicated that companies find career fairs and job postings in career centers the most effective means of identifying interns, but this data was based on a sample of large companies and may not be a practical approach for smaller companies looking for a single intern. In this case, it was not considered as an option by ACME and indicates a need for research on how graduates identify internships with small companies and how small companies identify interns and the challenges they face in doing so.

EPILOGUE

I undertook this study of the complexities of designing an internship and recruiting an intern at the company where I was the CEO. It was at my initiative and under my leadership that the internship was designed and an individual was recruited. My position as CEO afforded me the opportunity to be present in the moments that led up to the decision (by me) to recruit an intern, the roots to that decision, and to be an active participant in what followed. The central role I played in these activities as CEO became the anchor for this study in which I traced the CEO's actions and discursive events. In being present throughout this activity, in which I played a central role, I was afforded access as researcher-CEO to a corpus of records and artifacts that related to not only the 13 weeks during which the internship was designed and an intern recruited, but also to what went before in prior periods. The extensive set of records enabled me to trace backward in time through these records to uncover the roots and routes to the participation of actors in the internship formation and recruitment activity.

When the events upon which this study is based occurred within ACME, I had not anticipated that ACME would be the site for my study of an internship-in-the-making. Examining retroactively what had taken place as opposed to collecting records and artifacts as the activities unfolded had two implications. The first is that my ability to conduct this study of prior events was only possible because I was able to recover the historic records (e.g., emails, ACME board papers, company policy documents). Written and digital records permitted me to (re)construct the actions and discourse of the participants in this activity. In this, I was aided considerably by the fact that in my role as CEO, I had maintained a large

corpus of company emails which related to the recruitment of an intern and without which this study would not have been possible. This stored information provided an essential historic record of discourse between the participants that could be used to document and analyze these discursive events. The records enabled an empirical analysis of discursive events and actions to identify who said what to whom, when, in what context and with what outcome, and the nature of the activities (such as individuals engaged as boundary crossers or serving as a cultural guide). Being an “insider” brought with it these benefits of being present “in the moment” and access to written records. It also brought with it serious challenges. In order to avoid ethnocentrism and to adopt the position of a researcher taking action as a “professional stranger” (Agar, 2008), it was necessary for me to step back from what I knew (or thought I knew) as CEO and to analyze in detail the discourse, events and actions in which I had played a direct or indirect role (cf. Heath & Street, 2008; Green & Bridges, 2018). The act of stepping back from what I knew in order to ground the analysis in what was visible from the analysis, was a constant struggle. My ability to refrain from storytelling was aided by the many discussions with two interactional ethnographers, my faculty advisor (Dr. Judith Green) and her co-researcher (Dr. Stephanie Couch).

The second consequence of basing this study in a context for which I had not previously prepared the ground was that for this study to be a warranted account of the design of an internship and recruitment of an intern, it was necessary for me to construct post-hoc the data set from the corpus of records available to me for analysis. In a number of instances, where the written records were incomplete, I was able to make use of my recall of events (“headnotes”) to fill in gaps in the written records. While I used these headnotes (recalled memory) sparingly, they were essential to gaining an understanding of what

happened during this activity to design an internship and recruit an intern. In order to maintain the position of researcher as a professional stranger I approached the task of assembling these “headnotes” as if I was conducting an interview of myself as CEO. The ethnographic interview is a well-established approach (Spradley, 1979) to understanding the norms and expectations, rights and obligations, roles and responsibilities in a site, and involves the researcher entering into dialogue with others who have insider knowledge of these. In this context, “self-interviewing” constituted a way of stepping back from the assumed known, or recorded event (written text) and was an important component of my approach to studying the activities involved in designing an internship and recruiting an intern in which I had played a central role as CEO.

My ability as CEO to step back and adopt the position of professional stranger and to interview myself as CEO are two examples of the “reflexive turn” (Ellen, 1984; Crossley et al., 2016) that run throughout this study. This reflexive turn was achieved by constantly asking myself while I analyzed the records that included self-interviews as headnotes, what a stranger would need to know in order to understand the consequences for individuals of how, in what ways, by whom, for what purpose, drawing on what resources they interacted with each other. Only by standing back and examining the actions and discourse of the actors, some of which occurred many months before I took the decision to recruit an intern, and the outcomes of these interactions have I been able to (re)construct what took place. By taking this stance, I have been able to make visible what, as CEO, I could not see “in the moment”—how my own words and actions and those of others shaped events and opportunities for individuals to learn about and be considered for an internship position. This highlights the power of interactional ethnography (Castanheira et al., 2000; Baker & Green,

2009; Green & Bridges, 2018) to make visible to a stranger the complex patterns of interactions between individuals as they go about their daily lives, the ways in which they (co)construct or inhibit opportunities, and the ways in which these are taken up (or not) by individuals introduced to the opportunity.

I was warned when I embarked on this path to becoming an interactional ethnographer that it would change my ways of thinking, knowing and being in the world. In becoming an interactional ethnographer, I have developed the capacity to make a reflexive turn and that has provided me with a way of reading social groups as I approach them for the first time and to gaining an understanding of what “insiders” to these groups need to know and do to be considered members of them. This has two important implications for the future. At one level, as CEO-researcher/researcher-CEO, I will take forward the knowledge gained from the study of interactions and discourse documented here into future designs of internships and recruitment of interns. At another level, I will apply the interactional ethnographic perspective (i.e., ethnographic “eyes”) I have developed in the course of this study to better understand what is going on in other social situations, to some of which I will be a stranger, and in all of which I will now be a reflexive participant-observer.

Finally, by adopting this approach to the analysis of discourse and interactions between individuals, I have come to understand that how what is said and understood by individuals—whether teachers, business people or students in the workplace or the classroom—is highly complex and contextualized. This study has provided empirical evidence that what is learned is (co)constructed individually and collectively by individuals, through interactions with others, and from the meanings given and taken from the language-in-use during such discursive events. As this study showed, examining these interactions

from multiple perspectives has revealed the complex decision making of the potential interns and those who interacted within and across institutional boundaries in their efforts to identify and recruit an intern.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Email Archive of the First Recruitment Effort

From: CEO
To: HD NBU
Date: Wednesday, March 4, 2015, at 7:24 p.m.
Subject: Intern
HD NBU

It was good to catch up with you this evening.

Here is the basic job description for the intern we are seeking.

ANALYTICAL/APPLICATION CHEMIST

Responsibilities (including but not limited to):

- Implement analytical methods and applications;
- Prepare chemical packages.
- Operate laboratory equipment.
- Participate in development of new analytical methods and applications

Qualifications:

- BSc in Chemistry, Analytical Chemistry, Environmental Science
- Hands on experience with basic laboratory equipment
- Experience with modern laboratory analytical equipment (preferable);
- Basic electrochemistry knowledge (preferable)

They will be working for HPD ACME and with the team to develop and test new analytical methods and applications for our innovative online heavy metal instrumentation.

We are a small team and I am sure can offer an interesting role in a company which is building a world leadership position where we value commitment and enjoying our work.

CEO

From: HD NBU
To: CEO
Date: Wednesday, March 4, 2015, at 8:48 p.m.
Subject: Re: Intern
CEO

Actually will be talking with a student about this tomorrow. He's conscientious and a quick learner, and about to graduate from our environmental science program. I hadn't thought of him when we were talking, but I'll chat with him tomorrow. He's been working with me in the lab lately, and I think he could be molded into a great worker with little effort.

Thanks for the job description, I will go over it with him.

Hope we can catch up tomorrow! Best,

HD NBU

From: CEO
To: HD NBU
Date: Wednesday, March 4, 2015, at 9:39 p.m.
Subject: Intern
HD NBU

I will be at NBU for a talk from 4:30-5:30 in Ed. How about we meet after and if your star is around I could meet them too after meeting with you—say 545 to meet you?

If that is not possible then another day

Have a good evening

Best regards

CEO

From: HD NBU
To: CEO
Date: Wednesday, March 4, 2015, at 10:03 p.m.
Subject: Re: Intern
CEO

Sure, I'll stick around, and I'll see if I can get GS NBU to show up, as well. If he has no prior commitments, it is likely that he will be there.

Looking forward to meeting you in the flesh, in any case!

Best,

HD NBU

From: CEO
To: HD NBU
Date: Thursday, March 5, 2015, at 9:01 a.m.
Subject: Intern
HD NBU

Good morning

Please tell me in which building/office you are and I will come to find you—I will be heading to you from AE.

Many thanks,

CEO

From: HD NBU
To: CEO
Date: Thursday, March 5, 2015, at 9:22 a.m.
Subject: Re: Intern
CEO

I will be in Science, the north wing, room 0000. GS NBU will be joining us this evening, too. The Science building is up the stairs and across the open space from the large silver administration building and the business building. See you soon!

HD NBU

From: HD NBU

To: CEO
Date: Sunday, March 8, 2015, at 5:03 p.m.
Subject: Thanks for the feedback
CEO

Thank you for your call today. I'm still stunned. I'd like to use this as a teaching moment for GS NBU, so I'm not going to say anything to him for another day or two.

If you end up hearing from him, please let me know. Either way, it will be a teaching moment.

There are two or three other students I would be comfortable recommending, but they are a year from graduation, and I'm fairly gun-shy at the moment.

Thanks again,
HD NBU

From: GS NBU
To: CEO
Date: Monday, March 9, 2015, at 8:31 a.m.
Subject: Resume

Dear CEO

It was very nice meeting with on Thursday, I looked at your website and think it is incredible what ACME is doing. I am truly appreciative that you would consider me for a possible internship position. I would also like to take you up on your offer to visit the facility; I believe a tour would be very informative. I have attached my resume and can't wait to hear back from you.

Thank you for time,
GS NBU

From: CEO
To: HD NBU
Date: Monday, March 9, 2015, at 8:37 a.m.
Subject: Fwd: Resume

HD NBU

Good morning!

I spoke too soon - nearly - probably there is still a teaching opportunity for you in due course!

Best regards
CEO

From: CEO
To: GS NBU
Date: Monday, March 9, 2015, at 8:41 a.m.
Subject: Re: Resume

Thank you for your email.

I have cc'd HPD ACME for whom you would be working and who will get in touch with you to organize a visit to ACME for an interview, show you around and meet everyone else.

I am afraid I cannot be there this week but HPD ACME will take charge of this.

Best regards

CEO

From: HD NBU
To: CEO
Date: Monday, March 9, 2015, at 10:43 a.m.
Subject: Re: Resume
CEO

Whew! I agree, there is still a teachable moment here. I'm still upset, but less so now.
Thanks for letting me know
HD NBU

From: HPD ACME
To: GS NBU
CC: RS ACME, CEO
Date: Monday, March 9, 2015, at 12:47 p.m.
Subject: Facility Tour
GS NBU

My name is HPD ACME and I am in charge of developing new products. It would be great to meet sometime this week and talk face to face about potential collaboration. Please, send your resume to me and let me know when you may be available this week. I'm traveling next week and don't want to postpone our meeting too long.

Best regard
HPD ACME

From: HPD ACME
To: GS NBU
Date: Wednesday, March 11, 2015, at 4:16 p.m.
Subject:
GS NBU

It was nice meeting you this morning and introducing ACME. Below I'm attaching few references which may help you to get more insights into voltammetry and its applications. I'll try to dig out bit more. Also, I'll try to find some more videos which may be helpful. Please, let me know, if you have some questions.
We can meet again just after March 23.

Best Regards,
HPD ACME
<https://www.youtube.com>

From: HPD ACME
To: GS NBU
Date: Thursday, March 26, 2015, at 3:15 p.m.
Subject:

Hi GS NBU,

I hope you are just fine and doing well. I'm traveling next week and will be back on Wed April 1. Let me know if you are available to stop by April 2-3 at ACME.

Best regards,

HPD ACME

From: CEO
To: HD NBU
CC: HPD ACME
Date: Monday, April 13, 2015, at 12:51 p.m.
Subject: Update

Dear HD NBU

Good afternoon. I hope this finds you well

Just to update you on GS NBU - we are hoping he will join us and to that end I would be grateful if you could indicate what level of remuneration (hourly rate?) we should be considering.

In addition, both HPD ACME and I are here this week and next if you are able to visit - we would be pleased to show you round.

Best regards

CEO

From: HD NBU
To: CEO
CC: HPD ACME
Date: Monday, April 13, 2015, at 1:07 p.m.
Subject: Re Update

Dear CEO and HPD ACME

Wow, I'm pleased to hear that he followed through and that it might work out for him.

Thanks for filling me in!

I think a typical hourly rate for an almost-graduated student intern would be something in the range of \$11-17 per hour. Since it's a physical science position, and he's an undergraduate, I might shoot for a range of \$12-15 per hour (\$17 seems high for an undergraduate student, and \$11 is not very far above minimum wage). I'm not sure about associated benefits, if any. I'm not sure what current new bachelor's degree holders in physical sciences are earning in California, but my sense is it's probably about 1.5-2x that range, which to me seems like a reasonable multiplier when transitioning from student intern to full-time work. I'm full-up this week, but does Tuesday, April 21 work for you for a meeting?

Thanks again for giving me the update!

HD NBU

From: CEO
To: HD NBU
CC: HPD ACME
Date: Wednesday, April 15, 2015 at 11:55 a.m.
Subject: Re Update

Thank you for this advice—very helpful.

April 21 works for us—what time would best suit you?

Best regards

CEO

From: GS NBU
To: HPD ACME
Date: Tuesday, April 14, 2015, at 5:35 p.m.
Subject:

Hello HPD ACME,

I have put a lot of thought into the offer of working with you for ACME. I was wondering if you had heard from CEO about possible compensation, if the offer is still on the table. I hope everything has been well with you.

Best Regards,
GS NBU

From: HPD ACME
To: GS NBU
Date: Tuesday, April 14, 2015, at 9:04 p.m.
Subject: Re: Hi GS NBU

I have told the CEO about my decision to hire you. Please, let it few more days.
I'll let you know as soon as CEO will get offer draft ready.

Regards
HPD ACME

From: CEO
To: GS NBU
CC: HPD ACME, HR ACME
Date: Wednesday, April 15, 2015, at 2:15 p.m.
Subject: Job Offer

Dear GS NBU

I hope this finds you well.

HPD ACME has confirmed to me that he would like you to join us so I need to put together a formal offer for you. In order to do that can you please send to me your contact details, when you can start and how many hours or days a week you would be available.

I would propose that we pay you \$13/hour for the first month you are with us and if that works out we will increase that to \$15/hour. We will pay all travel expenses should you be asked to work away from our offices.

As HPD ACME has indicated we will be making an investment in you so we hope that you are able to commit to us for at least 6 months and hopefully more!

We very much look forward to you joining us and becoming a part of a small but very and success- hungry and motivated team.

Best regards
CEO

From: GS NBU
To: CEO
Date: Thursday, April 23, 2015, at 2:24 p.m.
Subject: Re: Job Offer
Dear CEO

Sorry for the late response. Your previous email was sent to my spam folder. I truly appreciate the offer however, I do not find it practical to travel to ACME for the suggested compensation. I apologize for any inconvenience and wish you well.

Thank you
GS NBU

From: CEO
To: HPD ACME
Date: Thursday, April 23, 2015, at 2:31 p.m.
Subject: Fwd: Job Offer

Hi, HPD ACME

So now we know!

Probably we should look closer—South Bay?

I hope the trip is going well.

CEO

From: CEO
To: GS NBU
Date: Thursday, April 23, 2015, at 2:38 p.m.
Subject: Re: Job Offer

GS NBU

Thank you for your note and advising us of your decision which we understand.

It was a pleasure to meet you and I wish you all the best for the future.

Best regards

CEO

From: HD NBU
To: CEO
CC: HPD ACME
Date: Wednesday, April 29, 2015, at 1:00 p.m.
Subject: Re Update

Hi guys,

Out of curiosity, any word from GS NBU? I nudged him, but I haven't heard anything. I also haven't seen him around ... Now I'm wondering if he's okay. If I can't find anybody who has seen or heard from him, I might try to do some checking.

Thanks again for inviting me over last week!

Best,

HD NBU

From: CEO
To: HD NBU
CC: HPD ACME
Date: Wednesday, April 29, 2015, at 3:01 p.m.
Subject: RE Update

Hi HD NBU

Yes, GS NBU got in touch the next day - apparently my offer had gone to his Spam folder.

I will forward his reply—I suspect the commute (and its cost) was the issue.
Thank you for your efforts and if anyone else surfaces who would be suitable please direct them to us.

Many thanks

CEO

From: HD NBU
To: CEO
CC: HPD ACME
Date: Wednesday, April 29, 2015, at 3:29 p.m.
Subject: Re: Update

Ah, alas. I will try to ask a few students who might be interested, and who are close to graduation. It's unfortunate that GS NBU didn't work out, but considering his commute situation (of which I was unaware until he mentioned it), I guess I can understand. There are one or two other students I could send your way, I'll talk with them first to see if they are interested.

Cheers,
HD NBU

From: HD NBU
To: CEO
CC: HPD ACME
Date: Thursday, May 21, 2015, at 2:31 p.m.
Subject: Re: Update

Hi CEO and HPD ACME,
How are things?

I've checked with a few students, but in all cases they live pretty far out and ACME is a bit of a hike. I've got two other students lined up, but I just wanted to make sure you're still looking for one!

Cheers,
HD NBU

From: CEO
To: HD NBU
CC: HPD ACME
Date: Saturday, May 23, 2015, at 11:49 a.m.
Subject: Re: Update

Hi HD NBU

Thank you for your efforts. We made an offer to a SBU student yesterday and he has accepted. I regret that GS NBU did not work out.

We are still very open to working with NBU if there is an opportunity to do so.

Best regards
CEO

From: HD NBU
To: CEO

CC: HPD ACME
Date: Saturday, May 23, 2015, at 1:16 p.m.
Subject: Re: Update

Hi CEO

That's fantastic, I'm glad you found a good candidate. It's unfortunate that GS NBU didn't work out, but at the end of the day, all we can do is offer to guide them. They are the ones who must take ownership of their own lives.

If you want to examine fly ash and extraction products, please keep me in the loop. The proposal for time at SILAC to analyze the samples is brief (three pages), and I think the next deadline is around August or September for instrument time in February and beyond.

Thanks for the update!

HD NBU

Appendix B

Email Archive of the Second Recruitment Attempt

From: CEO
To: OM SBC
Date: Thursday, April 23, 2015, at 2:44 p.m.
Subject: Your Advice Please

Dear OMSBC

I believe you have received the insurance certificate late this morning so hopefully all is now in order.

We would like to take on a graduate intern for a minimum of 6 months with the prospect of becoming a permanent employee to work with our scientist in product development - a chemistry background is essential. I feel it would be good to tap into South Bay or Oceanside - do you have any faculty contacts there with whom you could put me in contact? Or if you know of any that you can recommend then even better!

I believe you take on grad interns - can you give me an idea of an acceptable pay scale?

Many thanks in advance

Best regards

CEO

From: OM SBC
To: CEO
Date: Thursday, April 23, 2015, at 4:17 p.m.
Subject: Re: Your Advice Please

CEO

Interns in general make \$15 an hour at the local water agencies sometimes up to \$18.

I have not had much luck with Oceanside University students. They tend not be very reliable and unrealistic about career advancement. They all want to be "Water Policy Advisors" with no experience.

South Bay University has a Chemical Engineering Program and I have had a few resume's from there which I will look for. I mentor an Industry Association Student Chapter at SBU and can give you the names of the offices who can connect you with their career center. The student chapter tends to be Civil Engineering students.

I have a tour of SBU Grad Students and could pass out some information if you would like.

OM SBC

From: CEO
To: OM SBC
Date: Thursday, April 23, 2015, at 4:25 p.m.
Subject: Re: Your Advice Please

OM SBC

Thank you for your email.

Any contacts you can provide at SBU Career Center would be helpful and gratefully received. We are primarily interested in grad students with a chemical, chemical engineering background as they will be involved in the development and testing (lab and in the field) of new applications. that we are developing.

Best regards

CEO

From: OM SBWTP
To: CEO
CC: PIC6
Date: Thursday, April 23, 2015, at 4:44 p.m.
Subject: Two more resumes
CEO,

I have never met PIC4, but she has an interesting resume.

PIC3 is exceptional, but has a lot going on and may not be in South Bay for the summer.

PIC5 is the student chapter president of Industry Association at SBU. (PIC5@yahoo.com)

PIC6 is an exceptional sales and marketing person that has a lot of technical experience.

(PIC6@yahoo.com)

OM SBC

Attached resumes of PIC3 and PIC4

----- Forwarded message from OM SBC to CEO-----

From: "PIC3" <PIC3@.edu>

To: OM SBC

Date: Sat, 18 Oct 2014 13:31:32 -0700

Subject: Re: volunteering

Hi OM SBC,

Yes, I am in North Africa currently. I will be back in South Bay on 10th of December. Could I give you my availability then? I expect to be free most of the time, but it might be better for me to get back to you later in case anything changes. If not, I'm guessing weekday mornings and/or afternoons would be best.

What kind of work do you think I would be doing? I'm majoring in computer science and economics, so I have those skills in particular to offer and would prefer to do something relevant to either if possible. I've attached my resume.

And if you don't mind me asking for my research, why do you think the Alpha Company doesn't do a good job at managing [REDACTED], and why do Beta Company and Delta Companies do it better?

Thanks for the quick response. Hope you're well!

Best,

PIC3

On Fri, Oct 17, 2014 at 9:31 PM, OM SBC <OM@cSBC.com> wrote:

Hi PIC3,

Are you in North Africa now?

We have an active volunteer Internship program and I'd love to have you come work with us. Christmas is might be a rather slow time, but you are welcome. Please send me your resume and what days of the week and times you would like to work so I can fit you into our schedule. We have a small [REDACTED] and focus on [REDACTED].

FYI

The Alpha Company doesn't so a very good job of managing [REDACTED] that might not be a great example. You should focus on the Beta Company and Delta Company.

From: OM SBC

To: CEO

Date: Thursday, April 23, 2015, at 5:29 p.m.

From: OM SBC

To: A1 SBU

CC: A2 SBU

Date: Thursday, April 23, 2015, at 4:47 p.m.

Subject: Referrals

A2 SBU

Do you have any referrals for the CEO?

I'm thinking PIC1 (I think that was her name that was interested in volunteering here and PIC2). Can you see if they are interested and if so have them send me a resume?

Thanks,

OM SBC

From: OM SBC

To: CEO

Date: Friday, April 24, 2015, at 11:34 a.m.

Subject: Fwd: Referrals

CEO

Here's a response from A2 SBU who spearheaded the creation of the Industry Association student chapter at SBU. He has a few good recommendations.

From: A2 SBU

To: OM SBC

CC: A1 SBU

Date: Friday, April 24, 2015, at 10:37 a.m.

Subject: Re: Referrals

OM SBC

I don't think the engineers really look at the career center postings. CEO should email the job posting to the secretary of Chemical and Biomedical Engineering. She will email it to the students or distribute to the faculty:

FS@sbu.edu

Email the posting to FA SBU, faculty advisor of AIChE SBU student chapter:

FA@sbu.edu

And email FP2 SBU. She is the past faculty advisor of Engineers Without Borders. Really involved with her students. She teaches Materials, but she should be able to direct it to chemical engineers FP2@sbu.edu

A1 SBU

From: OM SBC
To: CEO
Date: Thursday, April 23, 2015, at 4:25 p.m.
Subject: GS SBU
CEO

Here's a SBU Grad student I would highly recommend. He is currently applying for a position with the City of Oceanside.

OM SBC

(Attachment: GS SBU Resume)

From: CEO
To: OM SBC
Date: Thursday, April 23, 2015, at 7:40 p.m.
Subject: Re: GS SBU
OM SBC

Even better—he looks very good! In order to treat his resume appropriately from a data protection point of view as I did not receive it from him could you suggest he contact me directly and I can then progress

Best regards

CEO

From: GS SBU
To: CEO
Date: Friday, April 24, 2015, at 7:23 p.m.
Subject: ACME Research Intern Position
CEO

OM SBC mentioned to me that you are looking to add to your staff, and encouraged me to get in touch with you. It sounds like your company does interesting work. Can you tell me more about the position that is available?

I have attached my resume for your perusal.

I look forward to discussing with you soon.

Thanks,

GS SBU

From: CEO
To: GS SBUI
Date: Sunday, April 26, 2015, at 9:01a.m.
Subject: Re: ACME Research Intern Position
Dear GS SBU

Thank you for getting in touch and your resume

The position we are seeking to fill is:

ANALYTICAL/APPLICATION CHEMIST

Responsibilities (including but not limited to):

- Implement analytical methods and applications;
- Prepare chemical packages.

- Operate laboratory equipment.
- Participate in development of new analytical methods and applications

Qualifications:

- BSc in Chemistry, Analytical Chemistry, Environmental Science
- Hands on experience with basic laboratory equipment
- Experience with modern laboratory analytical equipment (preferable);
- Basic electrochemistry knowledge (preferable)

They will be working for one of our Senior Product Development Managers and with the team to develop and test new analytical methods and applications for our innovative online heavy metal instrumentation.

We are a small team and I am sure can offer an interesting role in a company which is building a world leadership position where we value commitment and enjoying our work. There is a reasonable probability that an internship will convert to long term employment opportunity.

On reading your resume it may well be that you are looking for something closer to engineering so I would fully understand if you chose to decline this opportunity. Please let me know your thoughts.

I look forward to hearing from you.

CEO

From: GS SBU
 Date: Monday April 27, 2015, at 9:07 a.m.
 Subject: Re: ACME Research Intern Position
 Hello CEO

Thank you for your prompt reply. It sounds like an interesting opportunity to work with emerging technology.

I am curious about a possible long term employment opportunity. What would an opportunity like that depend on? And what do you estimate the timeline would be?

Thanks,
 GS SBU

From: CEO
 To: GS SBU
 Date: Monday, April 27, 2015, at 9:20 a.m.
 Subject: Re: ACME Research Intern Position
 GS SBU

Thank you for your reply.

By way of a bit more clarity—we are in the late development stages of new technologies and for which we need laboratory and field based support from an intern.

We are self-funded by our existing shareholders but have been approached by a number of potential investors who are interested in backing us for accelerated growth which will mean an even greater product development effort—we can take our technology into air and biomedical.

So our hope is to take an intern on for at least 6 months+ and if they work out (and we work out for them) convert them to full time when that funding (for which I am currently working with potential investors) is obtained. I say 6 months+ because we do not want to take

someone on, train them and have them leave after 3 months. Obviously, if we have not been able to offer employment within 6-9 months then we would understand if someone wanted to leave. I am hoping we will have funding in place by the end of September at the latest so we would commitment until at least then

Does that help?

Best regards

CEO

From: GS SBU
To: CEO
Date: Monday, April 27, 2015, at 9:50 a.m.
Subject: Re: ACME Research Intern Position
CEO,

Thank you for the detailed response. Again, I am impressed by the work you are doing. Unfortunately, I am looking for a full-time, permanent position as I wrap up graduate school. If in the future you decide you need someone in that type of capacity, I would love to hear from you.

I wish you all the best in your endeavors.

Sincerely,

GS SBU

From: FP1 SBU
To: OM SBC
Date: Tuesday, Feb. 17, 2015, at 5:17 p.m.
Subject: Tour of a SBC

Hi OM SBC,

Hope all is well with you! It is that time again. I am teaching Water Treatment Plant Design this semester and would love to take a tour of your plant. The one we did around two years ago was a great success. This is a graduate class with about 30 students. I was thinking on April 4, or April 25. Please let me know if this is doable? We are also flexible on dates.

Thanks

FPI SBU

From: OM SBC
To: FP1 SBU
Date: Tuesday, Feb. 17, 2015 5:28 p.m.
Subject: Re: Tour of SBC

We are currently in the middle of a fairly large construction project and this isn't the best time. My biggest constriction is parking. If you can arrange for a bus, I could probably make it work, but I'm having my own staff park off site.

OM SBC

From: FP1 SBU
To: OM SBC
Date: Tuesday, Feb. 24, 2015 2:48 PM
Subject: Re: Tour of SBC

Thank You OM SBC for the quick response.

If t is still possible to do, we would like to come to the plant. We can try to carpool and park off site. If you think that the plant is in tour-able condition and the only issue for a Saturday tour is parking, then we would still like to come. Let me know if either April 4, or April 25 works for you.

Thanks

FP1 SBU

From: OM SBC

To: CEO

Date: Thursday, April 23, 2015, at 4:19 p.m.

Subject: Re: Tour of SBC

FP1 SBU is the SBU professor who also works for (I believe the Mid Bay Company)

Appendix C

Email Archive of the Third Recruitment Attempt

From: CEO
To: FS SBU
Date: Friday, April 24, 2015, at 3:31p.m.
Subject: Internship

Dear FS

Your contact details were given to me by one of your alumni—A1 SBU, whom I have met on several occasions at Industry Association events.

We are looking to take on a intern (paid!) and A1 SBU suggested I contact you.

We are a Northern California-based 7-year-old start-up based and following a recent acquisition are working on several innovative analytical instruments.

The role is for an:

ANALYTICAL/APPLICATION CHEMIST

Responsibilities (including but not limited to):

- Implement analytical methods and applications
- Prepare chemical packages
- Operate laboratory equipment
- Participate in development of new analytical methods and applications

Qualifications:

- BSc in Chemistry, Analytical Chemistry, Environmental Science
- Hands on experience with basic laboratory equipment
- Experience with modern laboratory analytical equipment (preferable)
- Basic electrochemistry knowledge (preferable)

They will be working for one of Senior Product Development Managers and with the team to develop and test new analytical methods and applications for our innovative online heavy metal instrumentation.

We are a small team and I am sure can offer an interesting role in a company which is building a world leadership position where we value commitment and enjoying our work.

There is a reasonable probability that an internship will convert to long term employment opportunity

I would be happy for you to circulate my contact details and job description to potential candidates and for them to contact me directly with expressions of interest and their resume.

If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me

Best regards

CEO

From: FS SBU
To: CEO
Date: Friday, April 24, 2015, at 3:58 p.m.

Subject: Re: Internship

Hi CEO

Sure, I can pass this onto Chemical Engineering Students.

FS

From: CEO

To: FA SBU

Date: Friday, April 24, 2015, at 3:37 p.m.

Subject: Internship

Dear FA SBU

Your contact details were given to me by one of your alumni—A1 SBU, whom I have met on several occasions at Industry Association events.

We are looking to take on a intern (paid!) and A1 SBU suggested I contact you.

We are a Northern California-based 7-year-old start-up based and following a recent acquisition are working on several innovative analytical instruments.

The role is for an:

ANALYTICAL/APPLICATION CHEMIST

Responsibilities (including but not limited to):

- Implement analytical methods and applications
- Prepare chemical packages
- Operate laboratory equipment
- Participate in development of new analytical methods and applications

Qualifications:

- BSc in Chemistry, Analytical Chemistry, Environmental Science
- Hands on experience with basic laboratory equipment
- Experience with modern laboratory analytical equipment (preferable)
- Basic electrochemistry knowledge (preferable)

They will be working for one of Senior Product Development Managers and with the team to develop and test new analytical methods and applications for our innovative online heavy metal instrumentation.

We are a small team and I am sure can offer an interesting role in a company which is building a world leadership position where we value commitment and enjoying our work.

There is a reasonable probability that an internship will convert to long term employment opportunity

I would be happy for you to circulate my contact details and job description to potential candidates and for them to contact me directly with expressions of interest and their resume.

If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me

Best regards

CEO

From: FA SBU

To: CEO

Date: Monday, April 27, 2015, at 11:20 a.m.

Subject: Re: Internship

Hi CEO,

I will pass it on to the materials engineering list as well as pass it to the chemistry chair.

Thanks,
FA SBU

From: FA SBU
To: Biomedical and Chemical Engineering Students
Date: Monday, April 27, 2015, at 11:22 a.m.
Subject: Fwd: Internship

If you are interested in applying to the internship below, contact CEO directly.

From: AP5
To: CEO
Date: Monday, April 27, 2015, at 3:55 p.m.
Subject: Analytical/Applications Chemist

Hello CEO

My name is AP5 and I spoke to you over the phone regarding my interests in the open Analytical/Application Chemist position at ACME. My schedule of availability is full-time over the summer and can work during the Fall Semester too. My only requirement is that I am available to attend evening Masters class at SBU which are usually scheduled to start from 6 p.m. – 9 p.m.. For consideration, I am attaching my resume + expression of interests. It was a pleasure to speak to you Mr. Smith and I hope to hear from you soon.

From: AP6
To: CEO
Date: Monday, April 27, 2015, at 4:24 p.m.
Subject: Internship

Dear CEO

I am, currently a student in MS chemical engineering at SBU

Regard to your internship positions, I am really interested on applications of chemistry fields since I have a several years work in analytical laboratory.

You may find more my relevant skills/qualifications in my resume which is enclosed as an attachment.

Thank you and I look forward to seeing you in face-to-face meeting.

From: CEO
To: FP2 SBU
Date: Friday, April 24, 2015, at 3:39 p.m.
Subject: Internship

Dear FP2 SBU

Your contact details were given to me by one of your alumni—A1 SBU, whom I have met on several occasions at Industry Association events.

We are looking to take on a intern (paid!) and A1 SBU suggested I contact you.

We are a Northern California-based 7-year-old start-up based and following a recent acquisition are working on several innovative analytical instruments.

The role is for an:

ANALYTICAL/APPLICATION CHEMIST

Responsibilities (including but not limited to):

- Implement analytical methods and applications
- Prepare chemical packages
- Operate laboratory equipment
- Participate in development of new analytical methods and applications

Qualifications:

- BSc in Chemistry, Analytical Chemistry, Environmental Science
- Hands on experience with basic laboratory equipment
- Experience with modern laboratory analytical equipment (preferable)
- Basic electrochemistry knowledge (preferable)

They will be working for one of Senior Product Development Managers and with the team to develop and test new analytical methods and applications for our innovative online heavy metal instrumentation.

We are a small team and I am sure can offer an interesting role in a company which is building a world leadership position where we value commitment and enjoying our work. There is a reasonable probability that an internship will convert to long term employment opportunity

I would be happy for you to circulate my contact details and job description to potential candidates and for them to contact me directly with expressions of interest and their resume.

If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me

Best regards

CEO

From: FP2 SBU
 To: CEO
 Date: Saturday, April 25, 2015, at 3:23 a.m.
 Subject: Re: Internship

Thanks for sending this. I will let the students know.

All the best

FP2 SBU

(Currently visiting scholar at University of Southern India)

From: CEO
 To: HPD ACME
 Date: Friday, May 8, 2015, at 3:43 p.m.
 Subject: Interns

Please take a look at the attached and tell me which ones you would like to interview (telephone call first) and then a visit of a short list of 2 or 3.

Best regards

CEO

From: FP2 SBU
 To: CEO
 Date: Tuesday, May 19, 2015, at 12:01 p.m.
 Subject: Re: Internship

My sincere apologies for not following up on this!

Have you found someone? I will forward the info if not.

We definitely have students looking for internships.

Thanks,
FP2 SBU

From: CEO
To: FP2 SBU
Date: Tuesday, May 19, 2015, at 2:13 p.m.
Dear FP2 SBU

Thank you for your reply.

We are interviewing a short list of students this week but would be willing to consider any new applicants who get in touch before the end of this week. I know it is exam time but I guess if anyone is sufficiently interested they will find the time.

Best regards
CEO

From: CEO
To: AP1
CC: HPD ACME
Date: Thursday, May14, 2015, at 11:25 a.m.
Subject: Re: Application Chemist Internship
Dear AP1

Following a review of the many applicants we had for this position I am pleased to advise you that we would like to interview you.

In the first instance we would like to have a brief interview with you by phone. We will then invite a shortlist of candidates to our R&D Center for final interviews

Please let me know if you have availability tomorrow (Friday) or Monday afternoon for a phone interview that will last about 30 minutes.

Many thanks and best regards.
CEO

From: HPD ACME
To: AP3
Date: Friday, May 15, 2015, at 11:52 a.m.
Subject: More voltammetry materials

Hi,

It was nice talking to you this morning and we appreciate your time. Please, find attached some materials which may give you some basic information about methodology we are using.

Feel free to ask your questions in case you have some
HPD ACME

From: CEO
To: AP3
Date: Friday, May 22, 2015, at 5:04 p.m.
Subject: Internship
Dear AP3

This is to confirm that we would like you to join as an intern and if possible would like your start date to be Monday, June 8.

We understand that you will be able to work full-time during your vacation and we will need to agree your hours once term starts and you know what your schedule and study obligations will be.

Your hourly rate will be \$15/hour and we will review this on Jan. 1, 2016.

We are looking forward to you joining us and I think you will find that you will be joining us at a very exciting time in our company's development where there will be a number of useful practical learning opportunities for you.

We will draft a contract for you next week and when it is all agreed ask you to come in and sign it. In the meantime if you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact HPD

ACME or myself.

Have a great weekend.

CEO

Appendix D

Extract from CEO Report to ACME Board on April 9, 2015

In order to allow Dr. [REDACTED] and Dr. [REDACTED] to focus on product development we are looking at the option to hire an intern graduate to be responsible for product testing and control – laboratory based work with a heavy administrative component which is poor use of Dr. [REDACTED] and Dr. [REDACTED] time.

I am recommending this approach to employ an intern from a local University as opposed to a full-time employee based on the costs of full-time laboratory staff in the area where competition from local biotech and pharma companies is driving high salaries. The recruitment costs of an intern will be less by avoiding recruiter fees or admin time if we, ourselves, conduct the recruitment of a full time employee by advertising the position on social media. If the intern works out they will have been tried and tested and we will be in a position to offer them a full-time position when they graduate. Finally given cash flow uncertainty an internship will be easier and less costly to eliminate than a full time role. We will also use this opportunity to upgrade laboratory health and safety procedures.

I have set out below a detailed rationale for our recruitment approach. In the past we have recruited through recruitment agencies specializing in military vets or personal networks.

Recruit a full time employee using a professional recruiter	Full time employee represents long term financial commitment by [REDACTED] at time of investment uncertainty for [REDACTED] High local salaries for laboratory staff Cost of recruiter (30% of employee salary) Lack of ex-military service candidates Time to locate candidates Availability of candidates/ competition for candidates in local area from biotech/pharma companies
Recruit a full-time employee using advertising on social media (e.g., LinkedIn)	Full time employee represents long term financial commitment by ACME at time of investment uncertainty for ACME Difficulty of targeting suitable candidates with social media Time of CEO required to review and respond to multiple applications
Recruit an intern from a local university	Use CEO's professional network to identify limited number of suitable candidates Flexible employment arrangement

	Lower cost than full-time employee
	Avoids recruiter fee
	If internship successful will be “tried and tested” for full time role if company secures long term funding

Appendix E

Sample Holding Letter and Rejection Letters: Third Recruitment Attempt

Sent after receipt of Application

Dear

Thank you for your email and call expressing interest in the internship with us

We are currently receiving and reviewing resumes and will be in touch again before Friday, May 9.

Best regards

CEO

Rejection Letter

Sent on May 22, 2015

Dear

After reviewing the many applicants for the intern position I am writing to advise you that your application was not successful as there were other candidates who more closely matched our requirements. Thank you for your interest in our company and we wish the all the best for your studies and future career.

Best regards

CEO

Appendix F

Companies Surveyed by NACE 2017

3M Co.

Abbott Laboratories

AECOM Affiliated Engineers, Inc.

Aflac Akamai Technologies

Alcon

Alexion Pharmaceuticals, Inc.

American Airlines Inc.

American Axle & Manufacturing Holdings, Inc.

AMN Healthcare

Andersen Corporation

Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc.

ArcelorMittal USA

Archer Daniels Midland Company

Arconic

Argonne National Laboratory

Armstrong World Industries

Arthur J. Gallagher & Co.

Ascend Performance Materials

Automobile Club of Southern California

Barilla America Inc.

Barnes Group Inc.

BASF Corporation

Bechtel Bettis, Inc.

Bechtel Plant Machinery Inc.
Bemis Company, Inc.
Berry Plastics Corporation
Black & Veatch Corporation
Blount International, Inc.
Blue Shield of California
Briggs & Stratton Corporation
Burns & McDonnell Engineering Co. Inc.
California State Auditor
Campbell Soup Company
Carbon Black Cerner Corporation
CH2M HILL
Charter Manufacturing Company, Inc.
Cheniere Energy
Chevron Corporation
Citrix Systems, Inc.
CohnReznick
Con Edison Consumers Energy Co.
Continental AG Cooper Tire & Rubber Co.
COUNTRY Financial Covance Inc.
Crowe Horwath LLP
Cultura Technologies
Delta Air Lines, Inc.
DHL Supply Chain
Dick's Sporting Goods
Discover Financial Services
Dominion Enterprises
DST Systems Inc.

Duke Energy Corporation
DuPont
E. & J. Gallo Winery
Edward Jones Edwards Lifesciences
Emerson
Emerson Climate Technologies
ENERCON Services, Inc.
Entergy Services, Inc.
Epsilon
Excella Consulting
Federal Reserve Board
FirstBank Holding Co.
FIS
FM Global
GE Appliances, a Haier company
GEICO
General Motors Corporation
Graybar Electric Company, Inc.
Halliburton Company
Hazen and Sawyer
P.C. Hologic, Inc.
Honda North America, Inc.
Honda R&D Americas, Inc.
California HUGHES - An Echostar Company
Infineum USA L.P.
Ingredion Interactive Intelligence
Inteva Products
Intuit Inc.

Irvine Company
ITC Holdings, Inc.
ITW
J.B. Hunt Transport Inc.
JLL Johnson & Johnson Johnson
Kimberly-Clark Corporation
Kohl's Department Stores
KPMG LLP
Kronos
L-3 Mission Integration
L'Oreal USA
Land O'Lakes Inc.
Lennox International Inc.
Liberty Mutual Insurance Company
Lincoln Electric
Linde Linde Engineering North America Inc.
Link-Belt Construction Equipment Co.
Lutron Electronics Co. Inc.
Luxottica Retail
Macy's, Inc.
Maiden Re
MAVERICK Technologies
Medical Mutual Medtronic, Inc.
MGM Resorts International
Michelin North America
Mondelez International
Moog Inc.
National Instruments

Nestle USA
Northrop Grumman Corporation
ONEOK, Inc.
Owens Corning
Pacific Gas and Electric Company
Parsons Brinckerhoff Parsons Corporation
PepsiCo Philips Lighting Phillips 66 Plexus Corp.
Polaris Industries, Inc.
PPL Corporation
PrimeSource Building Products, Inc.
Principal Financial Group
Procter & Gamble Co.
Progressive Insurance
PROS, Inc
Protiviti Inc.
QAD Inc.
Rayonier Advanced Materials
Raytheon Company
Regal Beloit Corp.
Rockwell Collins
RSM US LLP
S&P Global
Save-A-Lot
Sealed Air Corporation
Sedgwick Claims Management Services, Inc.
Shaw Industries, Inc.
Smithfield Foods
South Jersey Industries

Southern Company
Southwest Airlines Co.
Southwest Research Institute
Spectra Energy Corp.
Speedway LLC
State Street Corporation
Stryker Corporation
SunTrust Bank
Synchrony Financial
T-Mobile USA, Inc.
TE Connectivity
Teledyne Controls
Tennessee Valley Authority
Teradata Corporation
Textron Inc.
The Aerospace Corporation
The Bradford Group
The Chamberlain Group, Inc.
The Estee Lauder Companies
The Field Museum
The Lubrizol Corporation
The MITRE Corporation
The Nielsen Company
The Northern Trust Company
The Timken Company
The Travelers Companies, Inc.
The Vanguard Group
The Walsh Group

TIAA
TimkenSteel Corporation
Tindall Corporation
Topgolf
Toyota Motor North America
Toys “R” Us, Inc.
TTX Company
U.S. Postal Service
Union Pacific Railroad Company
United Launch Alliance
Unum
Valero Energy Corporation
Veeva Systems
Vertex, Inc.
VW Group of America
Wawa Inc.
Wayfair Woolpert LLP
Xerox Corporation
Xilinx, Inc.
Zachry Industrial, Inc.
Zynga, Inc.